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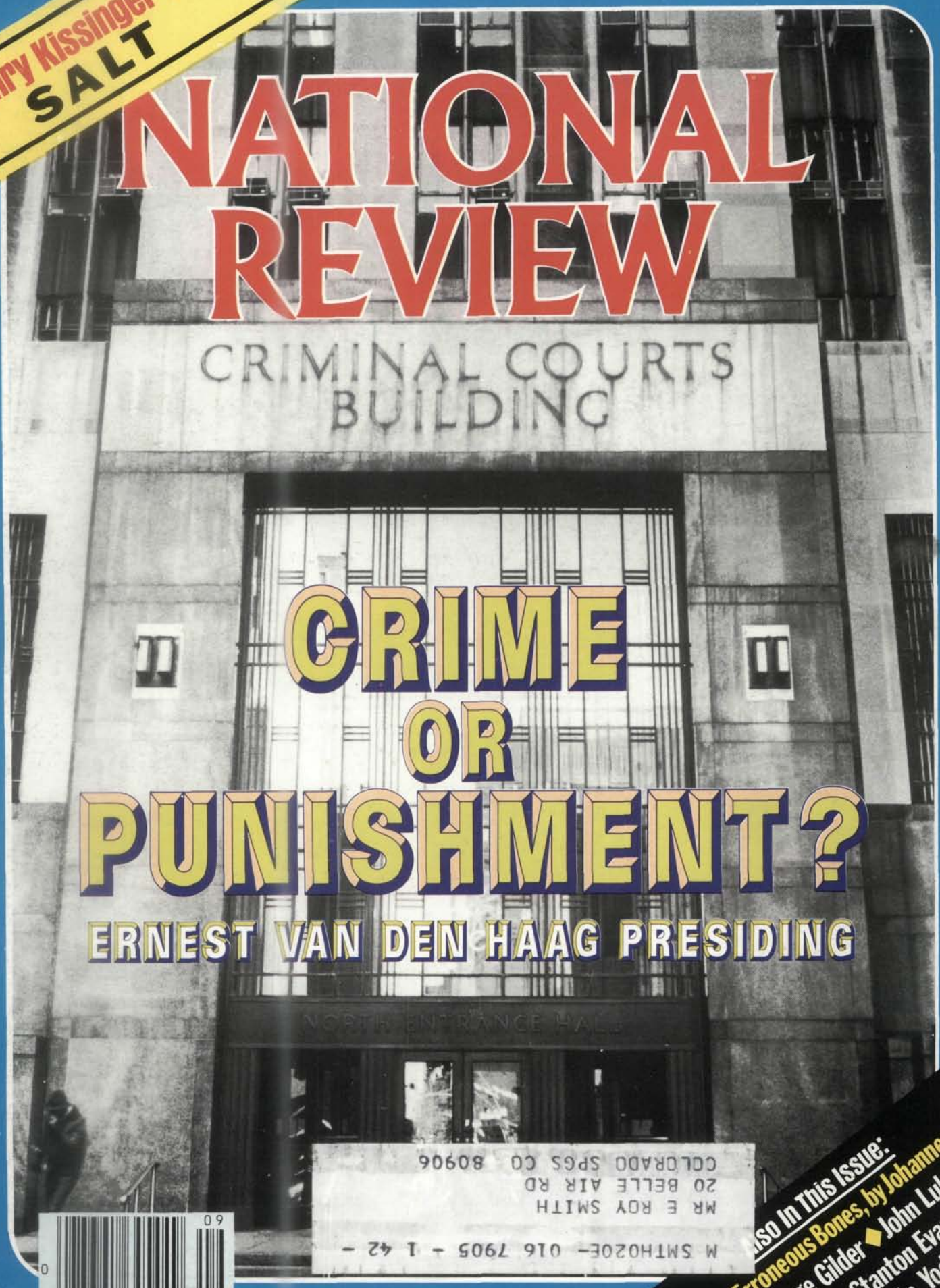
MARCH 2, 1979

Henry Kissinger on SALT

NATIONAL REVIEW



CRIME OR PUNISHMENT?

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG PRESIDING

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Also In This Issue:
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14 factors that could affect the performance of your next prescription.

Before you ask your pharmacist for a cheaper version of the medication prescribed by your doctor, consider.

In making the "same" drug, different companies may exercise different levels of skill and care. They formulate and manufacture the "same" product differently.

Change the inactive ingredients, compress the tablets too much, make any of a dozen other misjudgments, and the resulting product may cause problems. Yet it could look just like a well-made drug.

That's why it's vital to control factors like the few we've listed. To assure quality in every prescription drug, at every stage from research lab to pharmacy shelf.

PMA believes every company should be required to document the biological performance of its products and identify the actual manufacturer on the package label. Because the manufacturer's competence is the key to quality.

To know you're getting a drug of assured quality at an acceptable price, ask your doctor and your pharmacist. These professionals know drugs. And they know drug companies from long experience.

They know that established firms—those with proven quality assurance programs—produce consistently reliable medicines. Such products sometimes cost a little more. But in drug therapy as in drug manufacturing, a saving at the expense of quality could be the worst kind of economy.

The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association.

If a new medicine can help, we're working on it.

With your health at stake, you may want to know more. Please write for our "Key Facts" booklet. It's free.
The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, Dept. NR-903, 1155 Fifteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

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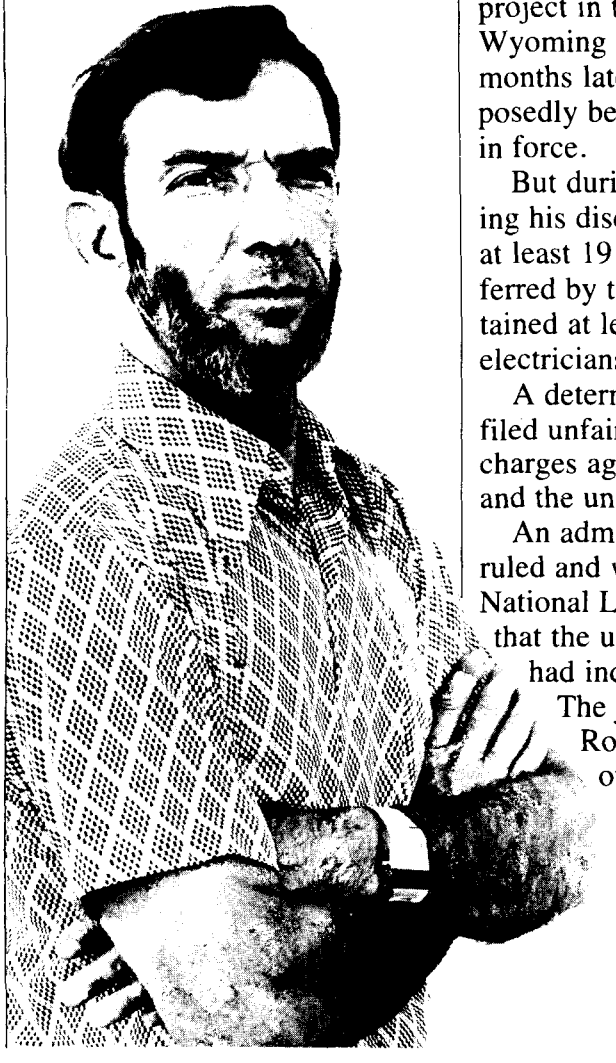
Job Discrimination... It Still Exists.

Paul Robertson is not a member of a persecuted minority. But he has experienced blatant discrimination all the same because he has chosen not to join a union.

Paul Robertson is a working man, a skilled licensed electrician with more than 20 years experience. He found out the hard way how a big company and a big union can discriminate on the job.



Paul was hired by the Bechtel Power Corporation to work on their Jim Bridger Power Plant project in the Rock Springs, Wyoming area. Only three months later, he was fired, supposedly because of a reduction in force.

But during the week preceding his discharge, Bechtel hired at least 19 union electricians referred by the local union and retained at least 65 unlicensed electricians.

A determined Paul Robertson filed unfair labor practice charges against the company and the union.

An administrative law judge ruled and was upheld by the full National Labor Relations Board that the union and the employer had indeed discriminated. The judge ordered that Robertson and seven other electricians be given the back pay they would have earned if they had been treated fairly.

The NLRB later reversed part of its decision, but Paul Robertson did not give up. With the help of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, he appealed the Board's decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals, arguing that hiring hall favoritism is discriminatory and unlawful.

Paul Robertson was fortunate. He found experienced legal help—all important because the case dragged on for nearly four years in the courts and the union still refuses to obey the NLRB's backpay order.

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation is helping everyone it can—currently in more than 75 cases involving academic and political freedom, protection from union violence, and other fundamental rights. But it would like to do even more.

If you'd like to help workers like Paul Robertson write:

The National Right to Work
Legal Defense Foundation
8316 Arlington Boulevard
Suite 500
Fairfax, Virginia 22038

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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ISSN: 0028-0038

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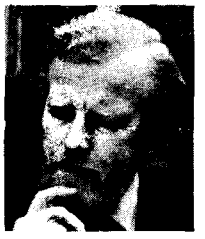

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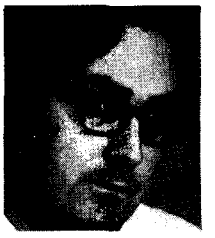

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Cover photo by Jan Lukas

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except for one issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second-class postage paid at Bristol, Conn. © National Review, Inc., 1979. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: *$34.00 a year ($19.00 for the 48-page issues, and $15.00 for 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). Add $2.00 for Canada, $4.00 for other foreign subscriptions, per year. The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better a stamped, self-addressed envelope, is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the view of the editors.*

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The Atomic Bond.

Using tiny explosive charges, Western Electric engineers are bonding metals with the elemental "glue" of the Universe.

Here's how it works. The atoms of all metals have a natural attraction for one another. If it weren't for the ever-present film of impurities coating the surface—the oxides, nitrides, and absorbed gasses—all metal atoms would bond to each other when brought together.

Exploding Things Together.

But the force of a high-intensity explosion on two adjacent metals will clean away the film of impurities. The explosion literally "blows" the impurities off the surfaces. So the atoms of the different metals can bond together.

The bond that results is stronger than both of the metals themselves.

As an industrial technique, explosive bonding has proved valuable in the manufacture of such heavyweight products as bi-metallic gun barrels.

Pinpoint Explosions.

But how would explosives work in the delicate, intricate world of telephone circuitry?

Scientists at Western Electric's Engineering Research Center solved the problem by developing ways to miniaturize and control explosive bonding. Soon, they could splice the ends of two thin communications wires inside a miniature explosive-coated sleeve.

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Letters

The Cult of Ideology

Francis Russell has highlighted an instructive parallel between the Münster of Jan Bockelson and the Jonestown of Jim Jones ["The Kingdoms of Death," Feb. 16]. But there are other, more recent parallels, which are more important, and which have been almost universally ignored by our official commentators. Jonestown was an example in miniature of a modern Marxist state. The initial news stories mentioned Jonestown's connections with conventional religion, even with evangelical Christianity. But it is clear from later information that there was no religion present in Jonestown, only the secular worship of an ideology, and the idolatry of Big Brother Jones himself. Tom Bethell has catalogued (*The American Spectator*, February) the similarities between Jonestown and Marxist nations: "The refusal to allow people to leave; the use of signed 'confessions' to control 'deviant' behavior; the lengthy meetings during which ideological 'error' (i.e., the capacity for individual opinion) is eliminated; the repeated harangues over loudspeakers; the presence of informers, leading to a breakdown of mutual trust; the censoring of mail; the contrast between egalitarian rhetoric and the privileged living conditions of a few at the top; . . . the readiness with which 'guards' can always be found among any group of people—emerging commissars who are willing to betray their professed ideals in exchange for power over more docile and credulous recruits." The only difference is that Jonestown was a cult, not a country.

Paul Anthony
Westwood, Calif.

Rape and the Rideouts

As a long-time reader of NATIONAL REVIEW, I have always found it stimulating and enjoyable; all the more reason for dismay at your comments on the Greta Rideout case, comments well below your usual standards ["The Week," Jan. 19]. Although you attempt to make light of it, the question is serious: Does a husband have the right to force his wife to engage in sexual intercourse against her will?

What has always most attracted me to conservatism is its delicate balancing of a belief in the rights of the individual and a respect for traditional values. The idea of forced submission, in or out of wedlock, violates both these principles. It is difficult to imagine a greater violation of an individual's rights than a violent attack upon his or her person. Moreover, anyone who sees sexual relations within a marriage as an intimate physical extension of the love binding the couple together must find abhorrent the attempt of one partner to forcibly dominate the other. Whatever the specific circumstances of the Rideout case, the basic issue cannot be ignored. A marriage that does not respect the individual rights and personal integrity of both husband and wife violates the fundamental tenets of conservatism. If the editors of *NR* do not acknowledge this, who will?

Howard L. Hyde
Hanover, N.H.

What we made light of was the publicity of the Rideout case, which fused hysteria with frivolity. Of course no man has the right to rape his wife. But to prosecute it as rape rather than assault raises obvious problems, which don't arise when the parties aren't living together. —MJS

No Nukes Is Bad Nukes

We appreciate your fine exposé of the anti-nuclear lobby [Feb. 2]. We hope you will have much more to say on this subject in the months ahead. Meanwhile, Leon Spencer, in his review of Petr Beckmann's book, *The Health Hazards of NOT Going Nuclear* ["Books in Brief"], comments that this book is difficult to find. We want your readers to know it is readily available, for $5.95, from The Golem Press, P.O. Box 1342, Boulder, Colo. 80306, or through Americans for Nuclear Energy, P.O. Box 23834, L'Enfant Plaza, Washington, D.C. 20024.

Rissa Woodley
Executive Director
Americans for Nuclear Energy
Washington, D.C.

Unbearable Distinctions

As someone who has written on the history of religion in America, I find some implications in your editorial "Cult Taxonomy" ["The Week," Dec. 22] slightly frightening. First, philosophers have been arguing for ages about what defines "religion," and there is no agreement in sight. The U.S. Constitution and the courts have wisely refrained from trying to outline such a definition. In fact, to do so violates the First Amendment's spirit. Whether we like or dislike any given religious group is beside the point. Our ancestors fled Europe to escape definitions of religion which excluded them.

Second, the meaning of "cult" as opposed to "religion" is unclear, and your proposals can be considered along with others but are not likely to receive unani-

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mous approval. The debate will go on. Personally, I prefer that to settling the matter *à la* the Inquisition. As Attorney General Griffin Bell remarked after Jonestown: as a Southern Baptist, he guessed he too was a member of a "cult." And so he is.

Third, your "relevant criteria" are interesting but too vague to be very useful in producing a "final solution." 1) Which religious leader says that mating with him will produce an unfallen race? 2) What do you mean by "free" to leave communal living in the Unification Church? Philosophers still debate free will and are no closer to a solution. Is there evidence of physical restraint or imprisonment, or do you mean emotional and group pressure? 3) What does it mean for a doctrine to be "intellectually derisory"? Is the Enlightenment a dogma in America, and do we have some standard of "respectable" doctrine? I personally would hate to see the day when the editors of *NR*, or anyone else, told me what was or was not respectable.

Frederick Sontag
Department of Philosophy
Pomona College
Claremont, Calif.

The rhetoric here is, so to speak, unbearable: "not likely to receive unanimous approval" (what is?); "final solution"; "Inquisition"; etc. The central proposition urged by Mr. Sontag, that there is no valid way of distinguishing between cobra worshippers and Presbyterians, between ritualistic cannibals and Episcopalians, cannot be seriously entertained. Of course, under the Constitution, we govern ourselves by the deliberate sense of the people. We can, for example, ban infanticide, a rite used by the ancient Carthaginians to propitiate Moloch. The First Amendment is not open-ended. —JH

Lost and Found?

NATIONAL REVIEW is a pleasure and a treasure for publishing Dorothy L. Sayers' "The Lost Tools of Learning" [Jan. 19]. I was fascinated. It reminded me of my own high school experience in the Boston school system, which contained vestiges of the learning that Miss Sayers describes. My graduating class will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary this year. I am certain the methods, the attitude, the discipline no longer exist in that system. At the time, those of us who planned to go on to college were obliged to study three years of Latin and French, four years of English and composition, ancient and United States history, and the sciences.

Unfortunately, Miss Sayers' recommendation, that we revert to the use of the tools of learning which were used toward the end of the Middle Ages, cannot practically be applied as a general method. I believe she has lost sight of the fact that very few men (and essentially no women) obtained an education in those years. Education is the common experience of all people these days, while the special tools she recommends could be acquired only by a select few—those who are mentally capable and those who are to be groomed for important places in our society. Failing this, our leading people will obtain such grooming only by accident or if their parents are smart and wealthy enough to send them to the right schools.

Morris Guralnick
San Francisco, Calif.

Dorothy Sayers' point needed saying: that the schools teach everything except how to learn. But if students were indeed to learn how to reason in the Trivium, what would they do in the Quadrivium when they are taught (by Plato, Kant, and Hegel) that reason is impotent and useless? Few, though, would encounter that dilemma. From the first year of the Trivium they would have been taught that man's ultimate act of *hubris* lay in dis-

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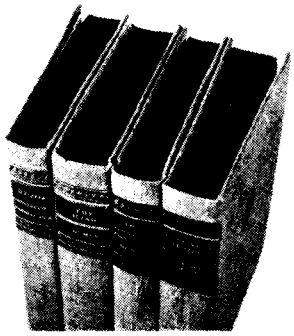

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obeying a dogmatic prohibition: by seeking the forbidden fruit of knowledge.

Much of the Scholastics' methodology may be very useful. But it will only work if accompanied by a *philosophical* revolution proclaiming the supremacy of reason —in the name of that ancient unrecognized founder of the Scholastics' love of learning, Aristotle.

Stephen Reed
Evanston, Ill.

Dorothy Sayers discussed an almost lost method of instruction which has been put to very effective use by Harry Pollard, president of the Los Angeles Henry George School of Social Sciences. Several years ago, Mr. Pollard was able to get permission to introduce several short courses in some local high schools to instruct the students in classical economics. With just two weeks to make a lasting impression, he finally settled on the Trivium procedure. The students spent a few days learning the basic truths of a phase of economics, including library research and preparation for a debate which capped the weeks' activities. The debate featured one student, the advocate, who put forth a proposition for his team. The opposing team attacked this proposition through another student, the interrogator. The other team members prepared material for the speakers. Points were awarded by the arbiter (a teacher or Mr. Pollard). The method was successful beyond the most extravagant hopes of its deviser.

1. The students learned much faster than the teachers. With little or no economic knowledge, they had no prejudices to unlearn. They were able repeatedly to catch the teachers in logical errors.

2. The students were fantastically enthusiastic. Concepts (e.g., "There can never be a shortage in a free market," and "There is no price mechanism as effective and fair as the free market") learned in the courses became part of the vocabulary of the entire student body. The students carried their enthusiasm beyond the classroom and taught their peers outside the class.

3. Some formerly mediocre students became team leaders and some formerly top students had difficulty comprehending the material. This was readily traced to the fact that reasoning and logic had taken the place of memorization, which demanded different capabilities in the students.

The courses have been given to about a hundred thousand students. Mr. Pollard has packaged the material, and it is available to all schools that are interested. His record verifies Miss Sayers' contention that the Trivium should be restored as an educational tool.

Henry Greenberger
Culver City, Calif.

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How to make "Proposition 13" government work all across the country—and especially in Washington

Yes, we CAN get rid of big government. David Friedman has fresh, sometimes startling ideas

- "Greedy capitalists get money by trade. Good liberals steal it."
- "Special interest politics is a simple game. A hundred people sit in a circle, each with his pocket full of pennies. A politician walks around the outside of the circle, taking a penny from each person. No one minds; who cares about a penny? When he has gotten all the way around the circle, the politician throws fifty cents down in front of one person, who is overjoyed at the windfall. The process is repeated, ending with a different person. After a hundred rounds, everyone is a hundred cents poorer, fifty cents richer, and happy."

The libertarian case for freedom is no longer unfamiliar. But David Friedman picks up where the others leave off, in two major respects:

- His case for private property is fresh.
- He dares to go beyond attractive theory to offer arresting, *workable* ways to "sell the State in small pieces."

He demolishes the standard liberal arguments for the mixed economy, again offering new insights. After reading Dr. Friedman, no respectable liberal will ever again urge "human rights, not property rights" without feeling uneasy. As for "public property managed for the public good," Dr. Friedman exposes the repression lurking in a formula most people take for granted.

But David Friedman doesn't stop at theory. The book abounds with *practical* ideas for getting rid of the big-government mess. The social problems are real: schools, pollution, mass transit, many more. The author doesn't simply say individuals can handle them better. He shows us *how*.

Many will part company with the author's anarcho-capitalism: how he would move even laws, courts, police, and national defense into the private sector. But *everyone* who cares about the erosion of liberty—from conservatives to left-individualists—will find bold new ideas here. And those who still believe in government as the problem solver of first or last resort may experience a crisis of faith—if they dare risk reading David Friedman.

First published five years ago, this book appears with new material in this edition.

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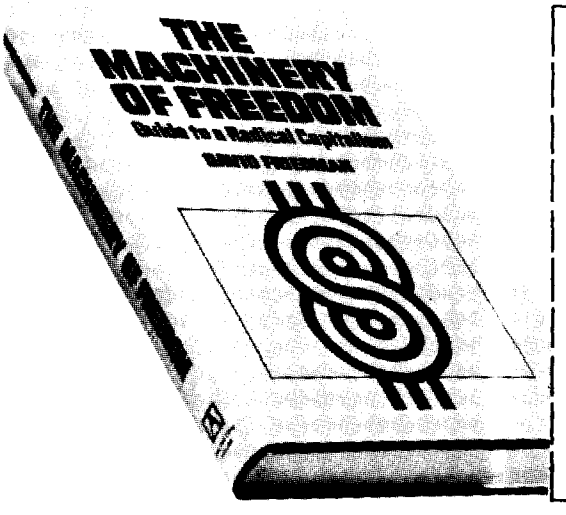

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FOR THE RECORD

■ **Andrew Young** is already in contact with representatives of the Ayatollah. **Shariar Rouhani**, spokesman for Iran's "interim diplomatic mission" in U.S., has met with Young to discuss rights of minorities in Iran. Meeting was arranged by **Ramsey Clark**. . . . Iran faces two hard years, says **Michel Poniatowski**, aide to French President **Valéry Giscard d'Estaing**, but then the "clergy, the shopkeepers, and the army" will join forces and stage another moderate revolution; however, "We must get the terror over first." . . . Soviets have high hopes for Iran. **Boris Ponamarev**, alternate member of Politburo, stated Iran is heading on the road already taken by Angola, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan, recent additions to the Soviet camp. . . . New **CIA report** says Soviets posed as "responsible superpower while promoting subversion on a grand scale." Soviet underground radio beamed to Iran was calling for national Jihad (holy war) and provided details on how to organize riots, make grenades and gas bombs. Iran's Marxist **Tudeh Party**, say U.S. intelligence sources, may have as many as twenty thousand sympathizers.

■ Sen. **Richard Schweiker** (R., Pa.) has introduced concurrent resolution directing President **Carter** to revoke trade sanctions against Rhodesia-Zimbabwe within ten days of scheduled April 20 elections leading to black majority rule. . . . **Senate Foreign Relations Committee** is considering sending similar resolution to floor of Senate. Committee Chairman **Frank Church** is not following in **Fulbright**'s steps. Church faces re-election in 1980 and already has an opponent—conservative Rep. **Steve Symms**, who is leading Church in early polls. Abortion foes, given part credit for defeats this year of Sens. **Clark** (Iowa), **McIntyre** (New Hampshire), and **Haskell** (Colorado), have tabbed

Breeze, *Punch* Rothco

"It wasn't until I spent my summer holidays in London that I felt the urge to put anything aside for a rainy day."

Church as one of their "deadly dozen" and are working for his defeat. Sen. **George McGovern**, who accepted chairmanship of subcommittee on Africa chaired by Clark, also faces election in 1980 and is another of deadly dozen. . . . **Ronald Reagan** is edging closer. *L.A. Times* reports that on March 1 Reagan supporters, including some who backed **Ford** in 1976, will announce formation of official Reagan campaign organization. . . . Rep. **John Rousselot** says he's passed "the point of no return" and will run against Sen. **Alan Cranston** in 1980. His campaign manager is **Stu Spencer**, deputy campaign chairman for Ford in '76. . . . **Bob Bauman**, terror of liberal parliamentarians in House, has told **Kevin Phillips** that he's "thinking about" running against Sen. **Charles (Mac) Mathias** for Senate in Maryland next year. Bauman recently replaced **Phil Crane** as chairman of American Conservative Union.

■ **SALT II** accord may be just a few days away. Two of final three stumbling blocks have been overcome. Secretary **Vance** reportedly told Soviet Ambassador **Gromyko** that U.S. would, as Soviets wanted, agree to 1) ban on cruise missiles bearing thermonuclear warheads, and 2) range limits, as Soviets wanted, on unarmed cruise missiles used to gather intelligence data. Yet to be resolved is definition of what constitutes a new land-based missile system. . . . Polish Roman Catholic officials have announced that Pope **John Paul II** is going to Poland, not in August, as Communists wanted, but in May, as Catholics wanted, for celebration of nine-hundredth anniversary of **St. Stanislaus**, patron saint of Poland and, say Polish Catholics, an early fighter for human rights. . . . **Radio Democratic Kampuchea**, based in China, has begun broadcasting a daily guerrilla warfare program: "How to Kill a Vietnamese." Program urges Cambodians to kill three, four, or preferably 12 Vietnamese a day. . . . Soviet Union has increased its border patrols along **Sino-Soviet border** in Sinkiang region while China has increased its forces along its border with Vietnam. Prior to military tensions between two countries, Chinese troops numbered ten to twenty thousand. New estimate is that Chinese have 120,000 to 160,000 troops there.

■ Question making the rounds in meat short **Soviet Union**: "Is it possible for a horse to gallop from the hero city of Leningrad to the hero city of Moscow?" Answer: "In theory it is possible but not in practice because the horse would be eaten in Kalinin."

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THE

university

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THE WEEK

■ It sounded kind of funny on the radio: "In the news this morning: a mob in Teheran has seized the U.S. Embassy, the American Ambassador to Afghanistan has been kidnapped and slain, and President Carter is on his way to Mexico."

■ As we go to press, radio dispatches from the Middle East report the killing of the American Ambassador to Kabul, Adolph Dubs, and the invasion and occupation of the American Embassy in Teheran by squads of armed men. The information regarding both events is scanty. Ambassador Dubs was apparently kidnapped by political terrorists, possibly opposed to the regime in Afghanistan, and held against the release of some prisoner. In the course of an effort by Afghan authorities to apprehend the terrorists, several of them were apparently killed, and when the Ambassador was found he was dead. Ambassador Dubs was a senior career officer of the foreign service with many assignments in Europe and the Middle East. He served as Deputy Chief of Mission in Moscow in the early Seventies and was for an extended period Chargé d'Affaires of the American Embassy there. His was a career of which the United States can be proud.

■ In the world according to Andrew Young (who, surprising as it seems, is a Baptist minister), the Ayatollah Khomeini is a "saint." In the Christian world, however, the Ayatollah will need three miracles to prove such status, the first of which we will grant him if he gets Mr. Young to close his mouth.

■ The boys on the seventh floor of the Department of Hooey, née the Department of State, have now issued their report card on the rights situation in assorted nations, none of which is hostile to or in any way threatens the U.S. As usual, the report was critical of Iran (in the throes of revolution) and South Korea and the Philippines (where we have forces), and found flaws in others, such as Saudi Arabia (which applies Islamic law). This annual report is required by a 1976 Act of Congress; it is predicated on the dubious, indeed offensively preachy, assumption that the function of U.S. aid programs is to police the legal systems of lesser political breeds according to Anglo-Saxon standards, rather than to promote development and serve the interests of the U.S. The report said nothing about the Soviet Union or China, which receive no aid, but was especially tough on Nicaragua. All together now, let's kick a midget. Or, to put it another way, for the third year in a row the U.S. shot itself in the foot.

■ Khomeini's panacea for all social ills—foreigners, students, Jews, and other human vermin—is to chop off their hands. Andy Young was probably a bit hasty in declaring Khomeini a saint. Hell, The Bearded One is just another industrialist, putting an end to manual labor.

■ Spending limits, by amendment or otherwise, aren't everything. Many of the "most irksome" forms of government involvement, writes columnist George Will—"such as forced busing, other forms of judicial imperialism, and thousands of activities of the regulatory apparatus"—make hardly a dent in the budget. This is an extension of a point long made by Milton Friedman—tax-limitation amendments, such as the one he helped write, are only part of the story. Even with its share of the GNP carved in marble, Washington may still enslave us with court orders and regulations. Liberals are going into the laager, the people are restless. Let's keep the pressure coming.

■ Hate to quibble, but doesn't Khomeini's hand-chopping lack a certain grace of justice equally applied? After all, it doesn't allow for the ambidextrous.

■ Senators Muskie and Bellmon, chairman and ranking Republican, control a Senate Budget Committee staff of 62. The other senators on the committee get by with one aide each. Some of these aides have done their job so well that the Muskie-Bellmon team has had to listen to some of the other committee members. You guessed it. Muskie and Bellmon have proposed an "austerity measure"—eliminating the other members' aides.

We're Neutral

We don't take sides. When Ghibellines
Beat Guelphs to bloody smithereens,
We would have looked the other way
And, on a Sunday, paused to pray.

When Frenchmen, for a hundred years,
Fought Englishmen on all frontiers,
We would have watched the dead decay
At Crécy and at Poitiers.

As for today, the Japanese,
The Saudis, Thais, and Taiwanese
All wonder what it's worth to say,
"I'm Jimmy Carter's protégé."

W. H. von Dreele

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■ Perhaps, first, he should give 'em a chance to vote with their feet? (Applause.)

■ There's one thing about government: it is never diminished by adversity. Thirty-one consecutive months of balance-of-trade deficits have produced a proposal for more government. Senators Ribicoff and Roth say we need a Cabinet-level Department of International Trade to get the nation's act together. But what incentive to succeed would the new department have? If it solved the problem, it would find its budget cut. On the other hand, as long as the trade deficit persisted, the department's rationale for existence is safe, and it could continue to propose new, ever more expensive methods of dealing with the "trade deficit problem." Establishing a new department with a vested interest in trade deficits is guaranteed to perpetuate them. Considering the natural tendency of government, exchange controls can't be far behind a Department of International Trade.

■ Or spare them their middle finger, for a final salute?

■ Enormous influence had been mobilized to secure Patricia Hearst's early release from prison. But those senators and representatives, state officials, writers and journalists would not have supported her cause had not its merit been so manifest. A kind of informed consensus gradually emerged that her behavior had been aberrant because she had been unspeakably traumatized after her kidnapping—and that, certainly, she is no longer any sort of threat to any bank in California. Her release represents the cleaning up of one bit of business arising out of the culture of the 1960s.

■ Maybe he was just making a cheap play for the paraplegic vote.

■ ARTHUR KOESTLER WASN'T GOOD ENOUGH DEPT.: In his book, *Barbarism with a Human Face*, Bernard-Henri Lévy says it was Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* which spurred him to reject Marxism and established him on the *droit* path of the *nouveaux philosophes*. He long knew the facts about Soviet prison camps, says Lévy, but Solzhenitsyn introduced (according to reviewer William Barrett in the *New York Times Book Review*) "the concreteness of art, which is always more convincing and powerful than the abstractions of ideology." We say, Welcome aboard, but the historical record was "concrete" enough for us.

■ Royal Iranian Cutlery, Ltd., traded on the Teheran Stock Exchange, manufactures meat cleavers, cutlasses, krisses, and dull saws. At the current price it's about eight times earnings and provides a yield of 5.6 per cent. Probably a good speculation—especially for investors who have Allah on their side.

■ He could have asked God to kill 'em outright, but he's been to Paree and learned fancy ways: *petit à petit l'oiseau chienlit.*

■ With some fanfare, the Labor Department is cleaning up the CETA jobs program for the third time in the last 17 months.

■ If UNICEF embraces Khomeini's modest proposal, perhaps its program should be called "Hands across the Sea."

■ THE WILLS WATCH. Garry is annoyed with the right wing again, this time for its "ungallant" attitude toward Bella Abzug. Tsk, tsk. A few years back, Garry referred to Midge Decter as the "house nigger" of the antifeminists. It takes a special kind of lady to bring out the Ashley Wilkes in Garry.

Anyone in Charge?

The big story of the week, subsuming Iranian turmoil, concerns the Administration's progressive loss of control over its own course in world affairs. Not a new thing, it's been coming fitfully since the Bay of Pigs in 1961, gathering momentum with the Tet Offensive in 1968, flooding since the domino disasters in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, spreading in the wake of unhindered Soviet-Cuban buccaneering in Africa and the Red Sea, and it now threatens to engulf an amateurish Administration. As Senator Adlai Stevenson III says, the entire world is "trembling" while America is led by "an embarrassingly weak President . . . surrounded in the White House by bush-leaguers." Some recent items:

1. Having bowed to all of China's terms for "normalization," the Administration wined and dined Vice Premier Teng without even mentioning an assurance that force would not be used against Taiwan. Were we that desperate? What impression must it have made on Teng that *we did not even mention the subject*? We simply made a "unilateral statement" and, as Mr. Carter explained January 17, "the leaders in China would not contradict it." In exactly the same way, Averell Harriman, negotiating with North Vietnam in Paris as the November 1968 election bore down on Hubert Humphrey, made a deal with Hanoi whereby we stated unilaterally our expectation that, as our price for admitting the shadow NLF to the conference table, Hanoi would cease firing on Southern cities and attacking across the DMZ—and we accepted Hanoi's *silence* as agreement. Thus is the nation's troth plighted and withdrawn.

Next, to head Congress off at the pass, Carter had to proclaim publicly that the U.S. reserved the right for a future President (not himself?) to interpose against an

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

There are some things you have to make room for in the time capsule, things that will explain concisely what the late twentieth century was all about. Bound volumes of *NR* for starters. And the chemical formula for Big Macs. And a notarized affidavit from James Earl Carter saying, "I'm sorry." What space is left, however, must be allocated shrewdly, lest we preserve the essence at the expense of the nuance. What we look for is the synecdochical fragment of contemporary experience, the artifact from which Margaret Mead's great-granddaughter could reconstruct the life of Washington, D.C. in 1979.

We're here today to say that we've solved the anthropological riddle. All of Washington life, we contend, is revealed by a single glass-framed document: the lobby directory at 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue.

The address is a prestigious one (realtor's jargon for hold-onto-your-hat expensive), just half a block down the street from the Executive Office Building, where most of the White House staff works; two blocks from the White House; and two and a half blocks from Sans Souci, a restaurant where the serious business of government is transacted.

A partial list of the tenants, in alphabetical order, includes:

Aerospace Education Foundation. Three good Washington words in a single name! There ought to be a grant in there somewhere.

Arlington County School Retirement System. All of us need representation, right? And who can be more deserving than our teachers, we ask?

Boston Globe, The. Among trendy journals, perhaps the trendiest of them all. Bureau chief Curtis Wilkie spots trends invisible even to his colleagues.

Buchwald, Art. Official Humorist in the nation's capital. His table at Sans Souci has a personalized plaque, national-landmark–style.

Capitol Reports, Inc. We have no idea what this outfit does, but it sounds like four hundred other outfits which, presumably, do the same thing. We suspect that these names play in Peoria.

Commissioned Officers Association of the United States Public Health Service. We stand by our position that everybody has a right to representation, but we confess that we have never numbered these folks among the downtrodden.

Evans, Rowland, and Novak, Robert. The good cop and the bad cop of the Official Press Corps. Where the *Post* serves as the communications link among dominant bureaucrats, the silky Evans and the rugged Novak spread the word for the dissident bureaucracy.

Inter-American Services, Inc. Hmm.

International Communications Agency. Streamlined successor to other government agencies. Soon to be much larger than the bloated bureaucracy it replaced.

League of New Community Developers. Nothing makes the bureaucratic pulse quicken quite so much as the planning of another person's life. In new-community development, as you know, *nothing* is left to the imagination.

Manning, Selvage & Lee. Public relations counsel. That is, someone to call when the FTC recalls seven million of your defective widgets.

National Association of Professional Administrators. A well-run group, we suppose.

Newsweek. In conventional corporate style, *Newsweek* prefers not to move in with its parent company, the *Washington Post*, just eight blocks away. The turf-protecting instinct runs strong in what passes for the private sector here.

Potomac Surveys. Giving the administrators, the developers, the lobbyists, and the columnists something to chew on. Answers the nagging question, What does it all really mean out there west of the Potomac?

Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press. Reporters have entered the fray only because, well, others might face conflict-of-interest problems.

Textile Industry Product Safety Committee. One of hundreds of local monuments to the consumer movement.

It's an influential place, all right. Those tenants at 1750 Pennsy are setting those agenda, reordering those priorities, and planting those axioms in our national life. There may be nothing wrong with that—somebody's got to do the heavy lifting, we say. We keep thinking, nonetheless, how comforting it would be if a few new tenants could be stenciled into that 1750 directory. Say, "The Gallagher Ball Bearing Co." and "Gomez Frozen Tacos Ltd." and "Shapiro's Finest Apparel" and the "National Association of Productive Citizens United against the Post-Industrial Ripoff." —CATO

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armed attack on Taiwan. But, if he carries this much further, he's going to make Mr. Teng angry and undo whatever he achieved through "normalization."

2. Meanwhile, to avoid antagonizing the USSR before a SALT-signing Brezhnev visit, the White House said there would be no Sino-American communiqué. Suddenly, not only was there a communiqué but one that committed us against "hegemony" in the Far East, a well-known Communist buzz-word meaning what Teng likes to call the "Soviet polar bear." Now Carter will have to race to sweeten up the Soviets for a SALT treaty.

3. The Administration continues to treat SALT as if it existed in a vacuum under glass, unrelated to the intentions, behavior, or capabilities of the USSR, all unaware that, as Kissinger himself recalled in *The Economist* (see page 290), SALT I and the Vladivostok Agreement were followed by "Cubans in Angola and Ethiopia, two invasions of Zaire, a Communist coup in Afghanistan, a Communist coup in South Yemen, and occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam, all achieved by Soviet arms."

4. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, at least, is beginning to recognize that in addition to SALT there is a need to cope with Soviet surrogate forces such as the Cubans, but, he adds, "we have not found an offset." So he churned off to Saudi Arabia to assure the Saudis, deeply worried over U.S. ineffectiveness in Iran, of "our

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Olé

So Jimmy's off to Mexico . . .
I hope the Latin sun's
A daily sight. I also hope
He doesn't get the runs
I hope he takes a lovely tan,
And, in his daily toil,
I hope he knows they're sitting on
Just pots and pots of oil.

W. H. VON DREELE

willingness and ability to be good friends in peace or war," but he couldn't be of any help with respect to Soviet client dictatorships in South Yemen or Ethiopia. He did say we would sell military equipment to North Yemen and the Sudan if the Saudis would pay for it.

5. We warned the Soviets not to interfere in Iran, where they have been targeting inflammatory radio broadcasts and covertly guiding the local Communists into a position to ride Khomeini's coattails, all the while maintaining 180,000 troops on the Iranian border. We warned *them* against interference and then canceled our own aircraft carrier's cruise into the Indian Ocean so that *we* wouldn't be guilty of interfering.

6. Andrew Young put in his one and a half cents' worth, opining that Khomeini will some day be regarded as a saint. Of course, the White House spiked Young's canonization authority, but the point is that Carter still can't control Young. Moreover, he can't control his hecklers in the Department of State: he had to assemble a meeting in the White House to ask for discipline. Nor can he resolve key differences between Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, or enforce coordination between Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger, who wants to send up an alarm on energy, and Secretary of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal, who fears the effect on the dollar.

7. Schlesinger and Carter warn of the loss of Iranian oil but have little beyond conservation to offer, the moral equivalent of a New Year's resolution: no stirring call for a new Manhattan Project to develop other energy resources—not coal or nuclear power (especially the fast breeder, which Carter finds abhorrent), and certainly not Mexican natural gas (too costly). No crash program to develop fusion power is envisioned.

8. The Administration served up warnings to Vietnam re Cambodia, to China re Vietnam, and to the USSR, the principal result of which has been to expose the futility of our warnings. Vietnam perseveres in Cambodia, China is building up forces on Vietnam's border, and the USSR has established a naval presence in the South China Sea—the former back yard of the Seventh Fleet. Worst of all, Mr. Teng said repeatedly in Japan that Vietnam "must be punished" and that "once we say we will do something we will do it." This is frightening Washington, more accustomed in recent years to "cultivating an image" and advising others than to executing a strategy. Indeed, as Stephen Rosenfeld sums up Kissinger's *Economist* interview, "the whole thrust of his complaint is that the Carter Administration has the strategic grasp of a child."

9. Now that our nuclear monitoring stations in Iran are closed, suddenly Turkey is being looked at in a new light and all the congressional moralizing on Cyprus fades away. For now we need Turkey to substitute for Iran. But it's tricky knowing just what English to apply to the ball. In one context, the need for the monitoring stations is emphasized to get aid for Turkey, but elsewhere it is de-emphasized so as not to imperil SALT by calling into question our capacity for verification.

10. In an Alice-in-Wonderland inversion of friend and foe, the Administration still refused to send military aid to Somalia because Soviet client Ethiopia threatened to sever relations if we did send aid. For friendly Morocco we allowed shipment of six Boeing helicopters made under license in Italy, a quaint exception to our three-year insistence that Morocco promise not to use U.S. equipment to defend its new Saharan territories against Polisario guerrillas, aided by Algeria, aided by the USSR. No wonder King Hassan (who is providing asylum to the Shah) expressed serious misgivings over the Administration's wobbliness as Soviet influence spreads through Africa and the Middle East.

11. The announced reconvening of the Israeli-Egyptian talks is indeed an achievement, if (big if) any agreements that may be reached are not undermined by the sort of syntactical booby-traps that wrecked negotiations based on the first Camp David understandings.

And so on. From crisis to crisis, reacting first to this stimulus and then counter-reacting to that one. In a rare demonstration of unanimity, the panelists on the *Agronsky & Co.* television show on February 11 agreed that the Carter Administration is not coping. If things continue on this course, the time of greatest danger to the United States is not the middle 1980s, when our Minutemen are vulnerable to a Russian first strike, but now and through January 20, 1981.

Congress and Taiwan

The current congressional debate over what to do about Taiwan abounds in both opportunities and dangers. The Carter Administration is determined to deal with the (Nationalist) Republic of China on a strictly non-governmental level, through the medium of an unofficial but publicly funded American Institute in Taiwan—a failure to acknowledge reality that somehow doesn't bother armchair realists as much as our non-recognition

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of Peking did. Many senators, still smarting from the Administration's disregard of their unanimous request, last July, for "prior consultation" on any changes in our commitment to defend Taiwan, would like to reassert their prestige and interest in the matter by forcing the Administration to accept some declaration of continuing American intention to protect Taiwan militarily. But Mr. Carter, while stopping short of saying he will veto any bill other than his own, warned that a pledge of military intervention would be unacceptable.

The danger is that Congress may ignore Mr. Carter's warning, push through bill only to have it vetoed —and then fail to override the veto, leaving Taiwan even worse off than before. Unless the votes to override are there, Congress would be better advised to take its time and drive the hardest bargain it can with the Administration.

In this connection, attention should be paid to the indications that there are cross-currents of opinion on the subject within the Administration. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance has privately seemed eager to make things as tolerable for Taiwan as circumstances permit. Deputy Secretary Warren Christopher, however, as well as Assistant Secretary Richard Holbrooke and Zbigniew Brzezinski's Far Eastern advisor Michael Oksenberg, actually seem to enjoy kicking Taiwan while it's down —witness Christopher's wholly gratuitous public assertion that the Chinese Communists are entitled to take over Twin Oaks, Taiwan's multi-million–dollar ambassadorial estate in Washington.

Further public hearings, in which these officials are asked to disclose their views or modify them, would serve to focus public opinion on the issue and thereby improve congressional bargaining power.

Constitutional Convention

The drive for a constitutional convention to recommend an amendment designed to limit federal spending got under way four years ago. If 34 states pass resolutions calling for a convention, Congress will be obliged by Article V to call one. To date, 27 states have passed resolutions; Indiana and Idaho appear likely to add their votes shortly; and the goal of 34 states could be achieved within a few months, though even after that there could be delays and legal wrangles.

Assorted objections have been made to the idea of any such convention—for example, that it might do *anything*. But any amendment it proposed would of course have to be ratified by three-quarters of the states, which are not about to reintroduce slavery or ban whiskey.

"Washington," writes columnist William Safire, "has reacted to the recent pressure of the constitutional budget-balancers with a combination of fear, loathing, shock, and horror. . . . Such a shrill, anguished reaction illustrates the wisdom of the Founders: a growing central government is unlikely to share its power or curtail its growth without a powerful threat from the states. Lawmakers in Washington will now have to find a way to limit federal growth by offering an amendment of their own, or will have the initiative to do so legally wrested away."

Pressure from the states may thus force Congress to act; and Milton Friedman has designed a sophisticated amendment which could provide a model. It will not suffice, of course, to require a balanced budget. A budget could be balanced by taxing at rates of 100 per cent.

The Friedman recommendation would limit the increase in federal spending to the percentage increase in GNP—with a more severe limitation in times of inflation, and flexibility in times of recession (see page 302). It would allow Keynesians to stimulate the economy—but by tax reduction, rather than by increased spending. Republican Senator John Heinz of Pennsylvania recently announced that he would soon introduce the Friedman amendment, and it appears to have substantial bi-partisan support.

Better act soon, boys and girls, because the states in their righteous wrath are headed your way.

How Long, O Lord?

"The Ayatollah is a saint."
In Cuba, "Castro shows restraint."
"The British run a racist show."
"South Africa has got to go."
For three whole years he's carried on!
Though Jimmy Carter's looking wan,
He still prefers to shovel dung
Than give the sack to Andrew Young.

W. H. VON DREELE

Talking Up a Turndown

Democrats on the House Budget Committee are already moving against the President's proposed $29-billion deficit. At hearings held this month the committee's witnesses delivered a prediction of recession in 1979. Recession is the magic word that lets the big spenders out of the box. Remember the Kemp-Roth tax cut proposal? A few months ago, big spenders were fighting it on the grounds that it would cause a deficit, stimulate the economy, and be inflationary. All of a sudden big spenders found themselves against red ink.

How can born-again budget balancers shed their new religion so soon after conversion and get back to the

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real business of building spending constituencies? Well, it's not all that difficult. The congressional budget process, they claim, is supposed to set the deficit according to the economy's need for stimulation. A forecast of an economic downturn in 1979 means a larger 1980 budget deficit is needed to fight recession. Otherwise, the argument goes, the deficit will be greater in the future as the government's revenues drop and expenditures rise with the growth in unemployment.

Big spenders are anxious to get back to fighting unemployment, but desire has outrun data. The facts aren't in yet on the scenario that is supposed to result in recession. Supposedly, monetary restraint drives up interest rates, chokes off spending, and causes a recession. That is Keynesian theory.

But, though monetary restraint is being exercised, interest rates are not skyrocketing. The rise that has occurred could be due to the prediction a few months back of rapid money growth. This money growth has not occurred, and interest rates could well fall as monetary restraint brings down inflationary expectations. By predicting a recession, Congress is likely to send interest rates rising again, because people expect the Fed to respond to a recession forecast with an easy money policy.

If only big spenders wouldn't get so anxious, monetary restraint, by wringing out inflationary expectations, could bring down the interest rate, and the economy could keep right on growing. The trouble is that good times aren't good for government spending programs, but recession is.

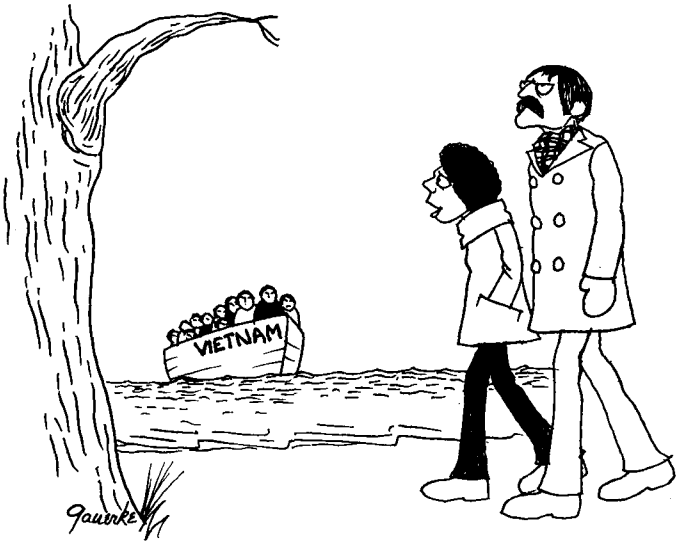
Execution Eve

As Iran is being swept by a conservative Islamic revolution, Pakistan's milder Islamic shift is precariously balanced on the point of a sword in the shape of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, whose death sentence for conspiracy to commit political murder has been upheld by Pakistan's supreme court. The political issue turns not so much on whether Bhutto is technically guilty as on whether he should die or live to lead his millions of followers in another ascent to power. For Bhutto is an extraordinarily magnetic man who either strongly attracts or strongly repels. If he dies, he may become a martyr and a symbol threatening to the Islamic military government of President General Zia ul Haq. But if he is granted clemency, that fact may be taken as a sign of the government's weakness—and vulnerability attracts termites. Ironic it is that a wealthy, flamboyant, sardonic, sophisticated graduate of Berkeley and Oxford, damned by millions for drinking Scotch and for the corruption his regime spawned, should be the nemesis—while in jail—of a native straitlaced Islamic regime committed to the ruthless elimination of corruption and the imposition of traditional Koranic punishments. Bhutto has one more move to make in court in the next few days, and then his last resort (which he so far scorns) is the clemency of President Zia, who so far insists the court's will must be done. Requests for clemency are pouring in from the leaders of the U.S., UK, USSR, and even China. These could provide Zia with a graceful path to mercy, but he is more likely to be influenced by his own domestic political considerations. Either way, Bhutto is a sword which will hang heavily in Pakistan's future.

Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft

Perhaps it's just as well that John Paul II did not explicitly attack "liberation theology" in his address to the Latin American Bishops' conference at Puebla, Mexico, since the subsequent stubbornness of the liberation theologians would have been all the more glaring.

The Pope's message, incidentally, was no mandate for quietism: he deplored injustice and political oppression and urged the Church to "evangelize" that man might be respected. Evangelism, it seems, is not good enough. Father Gustavo Gutierrez, the "father" of liberation theology, opined that Marxist-type socialism "couldn't be any worse than what we have today, and we hope it could be better." Ideologues will be able to draw on impressive reserves of timidity and ignorance. "Who can judge the moral right to revolution?" asks Bishop Marcos McGrath of Panama (presumably the same people who defined the concept of "just war" in the fourth century); while a report from the Eighth Commission on Evangelism, Ideologies, and Politics rejects capitalism as "the idolatry of riches in its individual form" (that depends, one would think, on the individual capi-



"But Mark, aren't they the people we crusaded for back when our imperialistic government was bombing them back to the Stone Age?"

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talist—which, come to think of it, is the main justification for free societies).

Exactly here one can discern the fault-lines in twentieth century Catholicism, not coated over by the Pope's Latin American visit. Is the Church on the side of state socialism, which is the terminus of "liberation theology"? Or is the Church prepared to speak to the dilemmas that advancing conditions of freedom make inevitable? Socialist economies are failing everywhere, and have no intellectual credit.

Decisive choices between past and future will be the principal themes of John Paul's papacy.

Down Mexico Way

Neither Jimmy Carter nor José López Portillo ballyhooed Carter's visit to Mexico as the beginning of a new era in cordial relations between the United States and its neighbor to the South, etc., which was wise. The problems—trade relationships, illegal immigration, the price the U.S. is willing to pay for Mexico's natural gas—are too complex, too interrelated, too little understood to be solved in a couple of days of high-level talks.

Dramatically it would have been hard for Carter, in any event, to cause a major splash with the trip, coming as it did on top of the triumphal visit to the land of the Aztecs of Pope John Paul II. Catholic Mexico, where the Church has been officially oppressed for fifty years, threw open its arms and its heart to the man from Krakow, from a land where the Church has been oppressed for nearly thirty years. No Yanqui who has visited Mexico since the days of Sam Houston and Zachary Taylor could expect such acclaim. Mexico's schoolchildren are still taught that their country has suffered mightily at the hands of its neighbor to the north, from the independence of Texas to the Mexican War, from the acquisition of California to Black Jack Pershing's raid across the border and the occupation of Veracruz. And even if these things had not happened, even if the United States had not taken a single hectare of Mexican land, still there would be resentment, the resentment of the small boy in the shadow of the swaggering captain of the football team. (We see that resentment in Canada, where U.S. economic and cultural incursions have enriched Canada's economy and its intellectual life but left a residue of hurt feelings amounting at times to paranoia.) Mexico's resentments run long and deep; the Mexicans are a proud and passionate people who hate well.

Still, neither Canada nor Mexico can exist without the United States. The United States buys 70 per cent of Mexico's exports; Mexico's largest customer is the United States. Between 800,000 and one million Mexicans enter the United States illegally every year and Mexicans working illegally in the U.S. send home an estimated $3 billion a year—which is more than Mexico's income from all tourist-related activities. On top of that there are Mexico's vast new oil fields, for which the United States is the obvious major customer.

But here too the peculiar relationship between the United States and Mexico makes the bargaining touchy. With other countries the United States can be more businesslike. But with Mexico, if the U.S. agrees to pay the price Mexico is now asking—which is high—some elements in Mexico will, sure as red beans go with rice, complain that once again the Giant to the North is trying to drain Mexico of its national *patrimonio*, that we are exploiting Mexico's oil reserves in order to preserve our own. If we say the price is too high—the Mexicans are asking considerably more for their natural gas than are the Canadians—Uncle Sam will be cast as the bully who refuses to take Mexican aspirations seriously. What we want, it will be said, is to see Mexico remain its underdeveloped, poverty-stricken self.

The negotiations over the gas and oil and the other urgent points of friction will take time and tact and understanding. The most Jimmy Carter and López Portillo can hope to achieve at this juncture is to agree, as they say in diplomatic circles, that present and future disagreements will be given serious consideration—and kept as far as possible from the sensationalist press that has so often in the past fanned Mexico's smoldering resentments against the United States.

Believe It or Not

Recent congressional hearings have tried to clarify the distinction between (disreputable) "cults" and (respectable) "religions." The difference is more easily felt than defined. The obvious problem is the First Amendment, and not only cultists but many others have protested the whole inquiry. As James Wood, of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, put it, "Government is not competent to judge which religious groups are good and which are bad, any more than it can determine which religions are true and which are false." This is eminently reasonable. But is it enough? In what sense, and within what limits, does the First Amendment guarantee freedom of religion?

Columnist John Roche reminds us that the very promise of protection presupposes the government's competence to decide what is, and what isn't, a "religion"—at least for governmental purposes. To say that the state must give immunity to any group calling itself "religious" is to invite the kind of fraud that culminated in Jonestown. Jim Jones himself was an atheist. Do atheist-worshippers have rights?

Religious freedom rests ultimately on the doctrine that it is not for the state to pronounce on divine revelation: not only because the state itself can't know, but because private men may know something the state doesn't. The First Amendment is an adjuration to the secular arm of society to know its place.

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Here it is - The Buckley Roast!

(The hard-to-find tape recording that has become a big conservative hit!)

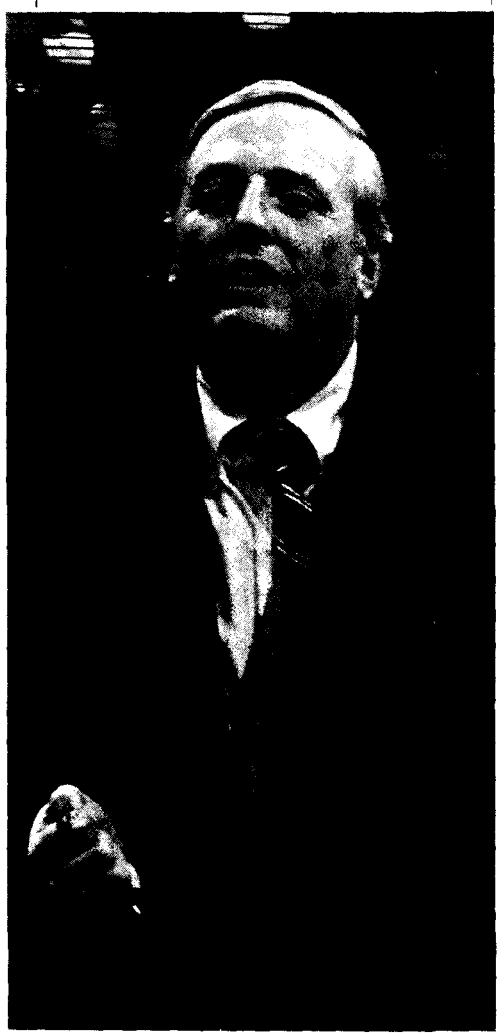
Yes, now you can get your own copy of the sensational tape that makes conservatives (and selected liberals) howl with laughter. When, some time back, Young Americans for Freedom decided to give Bill Buckley a "celebrity roast," the results were surprising indeed. This tape is a faithful reproduction of the hilarious highlights of that most unusual occasion.

William Rusher, David Keene and Stanton Evans were among the well-known conservatives who showered Buckley with a barrage of outrageous barbs that brought loud guffaws from the large and lively crowd. Mike Wallace (of "60 Minutes" fame) and Allard Lowenstein were also there and chipped in with their best shots, giving you a good idea of the cumulative effect Buckley has had on liberals through the years (yet it all adds up to a kind of wry tribute). And Henry Kissinger in person completed the basting with some acidly "diplomatic" digs. Buckley's reply to all this is masterful—he ends up roasting the roasters—and you have to hear it to believe it.

Tapes of the Buckley Roast have never been easy to come by, but now, for as long as they last, we are making our supply available with a special renewal offer that is also a hedge against any future price rise. You get this high-quality tape (comes in a standard 90 minute cassette) for just 95¢ simply by renewing your subscription to *National Review* for another year *regardless of when it expires*. That way you'll be covered, no matter what happens to the price, and you'll also be the happy owner of a recording that you'll play over and over again yourself (and will certainly want your *friends* to hear!).

So get your copy of this marvelous tape right now. It's first-come, first-served, while our supply lasts. The Buckley Roast carries a price tag of $9.95, and you'd probably pay that much gladly if you could find it in a store (which you *can't*). However, if you fill out and return the handy card opposite this page today you *can* get it for just 95¢ postpaid. That's right: we'll rush the Buckley Roast tape to you and immediately extend your subscription for another full year (26 issues). The price for the subscription is still just $19 (very good value at today's price levels) and the tape is only 95¢. Don't miss the fun you'll get out of this collector's item! Return the card today.

P.S.: *If you are not already a subscriber to NR you can still use the handy card opposite to* enter *your own subscription (same terms) and receive the Buckley Roast cassette for just 95¢!*



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But the state can and must act on the kinds of things it can know, and these include secular crimes committed in the name of religion: bigamy, human sacrifice, kidnapping, fraud. Though the state can't pronounce a religious *doctrine* fraudulent, it can find certain *actions* criminal, regardless of whether these are "religious" in their inspiration and purpose.

Many of the "cults" are harmless; America has always abounded in small religious associations, some of them wildly eccentric and colorful (and perhaps even, in the eyes of God, perverse). It is legitimate to worry lest the current anti-cult sentiment become a source of bullying directed against groups that lie outside the denominational mainstream.

But if there is good evidence that religion has become a pretext for secular misdeeds, government has the power and duty to investigate and, if necessary, prosecute—without reference to whether those misdeeds have, or claim, supernatural sanction. Some of the witnesses have offered rough-and-ready criteria for detecting frauds with religious fronts: among them, the charismatic leader who identifies allegiance to himself with devotion to God, an inordinate concern with money (not for charity or for the poor, but for the leader himself), compulsion against members, and so forth. These do not suffice for conviction, but they may warrant waking the bloodhounds—without prejudice to the First Amendment or to people's right to believe any fool thing they choose.

Allen Tate, R I P

Allen Tate was that rare thing, a complete man of letters. He left behind an impressive body of poetry that—with the striking exception of a few poems—is more revered than loved. Lacking the lyrical gifts of his friend John Crowe Ransom, or the narrative power of his college roommate Robert Penn Warren, Tate forged a sturdy and profound poetry of history: "*Four thousand leagues from the ninth buried city/ I thought of Troy what we had built her for.*" In one of his aspects deeply Southern, Tate had a special affinity for Virgil, and his poetry tears at the heart of things. His most frequently anthologized poem, the "Ode to the Confederate Dead," is arguably a more effective form of epos than Pound's *Cantos*.

Tate was not only a considerable poet. His collected essays represent a major critical accomplishment. One of the 12 "agrarians" who contributed to *I'll Take My Stand* (1927), he remained, early and late, deeply skeptical of nineteenth century assumptions about progress.

Poet, critic, novelist, inspiriting teacher, a man whose sensibility was deeply traditional but also modern, and who had a legendary capacity for Jack Daniels, Allen Tate leaves a gap which will not be filled.

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Teddy:

"Someone"—I regret, but so he shall have to remain—had good, non-mischievous reason to enter one of your offices which, however, having been assigned to your successor-occupant during the biennial upgrading for the more senior senators before the start of a new Congress, was empty during the transitional period. To his surprise he found, in the general confusion of the interregnum, the floor littered with personal papers mistakenly left behind by your staff when moving. He picked up a sheaf of them—and found them interesting enough to forward along to me.

Unhappily, I am more inhibited than Jack Anderson or Daniel Ellsberg, and so I enclose them in the attached, sealed manila folder. Now I wish I could tell you that I had not perused them. But I cannot: I preach the virtues of saintliness, but often fail to emulate them. While I fully intend to put in for Mt. Rushmore before I go, I do not anticipate finding myself in a position to pass along your supplications on All Saint's Day. I cannot resist, however, advising you that whoever Jan is, please tell her/him that if he/she ever tires of helping you to destroy the Republic, he/she can always get a job at NATIONAL REVIEW helping to restore it.

With cordial regards,
Bill

Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

■ Memo to: Bill
From: Priscilla

In the February 16 issue, the "Nelson Rockefeller, R I P" was mysteriously aborted, for reasons we have been unable to trace. It contains an 18½-minute gap, i.e., the last half. Some "sinister force" undoubtedly was responsible. The paragraphs that were dropped were these:

> Rockefeller failed as a national political figure, but in some ways he was larger than politics, larger than the issues, good and bad, with which he was identified. Men who live by the issues are not missed when they die. They are yesterday's news, tomorrow's Walter Mondales; they can be replaced by the heirs to their speechwriters. The importance of Nelson Rockefeller was his willingness, in an age of egalitarian unction and hypocrisy, to assert with unabashed verve and

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tenacity a hierarchical idea, both for himself and for his country.

There was nothing equal about Nelson Rockefeller; he said, "Hiya, fella," because he couldn't bother to remember your name. He paid no attention to his critics; he did not summon them forth to speak when they interrupted his addresses. He did not trundle off to Attica to pay tribute to the righteousness of revolt. Indeed, from some angles, the central tower of his Mall in Albany suggests nothing so much as a great, defiant Rockefeller finger rising into history—in the face of his critics—from a fist of stone.

This heroic aspect of Rockefeller's life is indispensable both to capitalism and democracy. Unless the creators and holders of great wealth dare to be great, dare to thrust forth their own individual visions, there is little reason why government should not tax away their winnings. And unless democratic leaders are willing to defy the voice of the mob and its client pollsters, democracy becomes a government of the lowest common denominator and cannot muster the resourcefulness to survive in an age of totalitarian predators. Rockefeller brilliantly embodied this indispensable paradox of democratic capitalism: it depends on leaders, in business and government.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Mr. Cross is correct in his appraisal of your spiritual IQ as expressed in "Notes & Asides" [November 24, 1978]. You continually suggest that works merit salvation. The Biblical formula is always grace + faith = salvation + works. It is never, as you imply, grace + faith + works = salvation.

Works are rewarded by God, but only because they also are His gifts. Rewards do not imply that man is the ultimate source of his own works. It is right to credit a second cause only if the full sovereignty of God is acknowledged. It is in this latter matter that you seem to fail in your reply to Mr. Cross. More apropos to Mr. Cross's letter would have been I Corinthians 15.10b ". . . but I labored more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me" (cf. Ephesians 2:8-10).

The above quoted verse is neither Pelagian nor synergistic. It is Pauline and stands recognized by both Augustine and Calvin. Please give the credit for all good works to God. What should one do when the tradition of His church conflicts with Holy Writ?

Like Mr. Cross, I continue to admire and appreciate you in all areas of common grace. Please seek for special grace.

Sincerely
William H. Randolph
Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Randolph: Okay. Best, —WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Thank you very much for using "enthused" in your column [*Washington Star*, November 22]. You are an acknowledged expert on the English language, and your outright support for backformation has been a great boost to all of us. We needed that!

Sincerely,
Richard C. Drayne
Contributor
Committee to Defend Emerging Words,
Backformations, and Where It's At
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Drayne: Welcomewise, you're in, I'm sure. Cordially, **—WFB**

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Of Taxes and Security

The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

LET ME START with a confession: until a year ago, I had never heard of Felix Somary. But then, how many people have heard of him? It was Dr. Otto von Habsburg, whose learning in these matters is vast, who told me about Somary. I hope to make his relevance to the great conflict of our times clear as crystal.

Felix Somary was a Swiss banker who, during World War II, was sent on a mission to the United States to look after his country's financial interests. When the war was over, he wrote a wise, powerful, and concentrated book, *Krise und Zukunft der Demokratie* (*Crisis and Future of Democracy*). As far as I know, the book (which I have since read and studied) has never been translated into English.

Somary, as a good Swiss, was concerned about the evils of big government and the monster State. He distilled his wisdom into twenty precepts, which he called "the social laws of the inverse ratio." I shall content myself with quoting three of the most pungent:

Fifth Law. "The bigger the State and the more many-sided its activities, the less influence ordinary people have."

Fifteenth Law. "The less protection the State provides for its citizens, the more it charges for the job."

Eighteenth Law. "The higher the taxes needed to keep the economy afloat, the more the political process is devalued."

From Somary to Jarvis

It was Howard Jarvis' unconscious discovery of Somary's Eighteenth Law which led to the successful tax revolt in California and elsewhere. The most striking example of the Fifteenth Law is undoubtedly Britain, where the burden of taxes is absurdly heavy and the country is less protected every year, whereas it was virtually tax-free when Britannia ruled the waves. As for the Fifth Law, is the truth of it not self-evident wherever we look?

The relevance of these melancholy reflections to our current predicament lies in the persuasive evidence that, in the party democracies throughout the Free World, the government is failing, to a greater or lesser degree, to meet the three criteria which some of us would hold to be the only justification for the existence of the State: safety and security at home, defense against foreign foes, and the value of money. No government that fails to meet these criteria can be considered a good government, even if it provides a host of more or less important but (relatively) secondary services, such as schools, hospitals, subsidies to farmers, and so forth. In practice, and in some senses, big government and bad government are synonymous.

The theme is too big for a column (and I have in fact devoted a book to it, soon to be published), but the security aspects of the problem deserve further attention here.

What kind of security are American taxpayers getting out of the $500-billion-plus budget of fiscal 1979? First, defense: In October 1962, the U.S. had nuclear superiority over the USSR, and, in this certain knowledge, President Kennedy was able to face down Khrushchev in the Cuban missile crisis. Two years later, with Khrushchev out of the way, the Soviet leaders launched the biggest armaments program in history; shortly after, the U.S. started unilaterally disarming. In the 12 years from 1966 to 1978, the navy was cut from 300 major warships to 169, and the air force from 935 strategic bombers to 415. Strategic missiles were frozen at their 1967 level.

Today, according to the best guesses, the USSR is outspending the U.S. by 3 to 1 on strategic weapons. In the face of the gigantic Soviet arms program, President Carter has seen fit to make unsolicited or unilateral concessions. He scrapped production of the B-1 strategic bomber, at a time when the Soviets were increasing production of the Backfire bomber. He has deferred production of the enhanced radiation warhead (the "neutron bomb"). And he has limited the range of America's cruise missiles, notably the European-based ones, which are to be restricted to 320 miles—less than enough to reach the SS-20 missile sites in the Soviet Union, which directly threaten NATO's installations.

Some of these concessions are to be enshrined in the SALT II treaty. I am not alone in believing that the draft treaty, details of which have been fairly liberally leaked, gravely imperils Western Europe's security (with which America's is closely linked, if the North Atlantic Alliance has any meaning), while conceding to the Soviet Union a clear strategic edge.

It is fair comment that whatever the American taxpayers are getting for their money, they are not getting a truly adequate defense system. But if one looks at security in the wider sense, the picture is considerably worse.

No reader of this column over the years will be unaware that the Third World War, which the Soviet leaders have been waging with relentless single-mindedness, has not involved either strategic weapons, or even the main armed forces of the Soviet Union—except for the repression of recalcitrant satellites in 1953, 1956, and 1968.

Paying for Terror

The favored weapons have been: espionage and disinformation, psychological war and support for terrorism, subversion in all its forms; and, now that the Soviet navy is the biggest in the world, the potential denial of essential raw materials, and energy.

The rules of this unprecedented war are made by the enemy. Whenever the Americans or their allies have raised the question of "ideological coexistence" in the name of "detente," a swift brush-off has ensued.

Strategic weapons are useless in this kind of war (except for psychological intimidation). The response demands a strong CIA and FBI, with a mandate suitable to the challenge. Instead, the American taxpayers have been given a Freedom of Information Act and a Privacy Act which emasculate the Agency and the Bureau, while making life easy for the KGB. Did the taxpayers really want this charter for terrorists, spies, and subverters? Somary was right. □

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CASTRO'S CARD

Prisoners of Diplomacy

PAUL GIGOT

With his recent and well-publicized decision to release three thousand political prisoners, Fidel Castro began a shrewd diplomatic offensive which may yield improved relations between the U.S. and Cuba and a windfall of foreign economic investments. Castro's tactics are simple but brilliant—among other things, they are a pre-emptive response to the pressure of world attention on his own human rights violations.

"At first Fidel underestimated the impact of the human rights issue," says Luis Aguilar, professor of history at Georgetown University and an advisor to the human rights monitoring group, Of Human Rights. "The image he had cultivated so carefully of the humanitarian dictator was unraveling." Castro responded publicly, in a way which deftly shifted the burden of proof from his own record onto the human rights monitors. He invited 74 exiles back to Cuba, enticed them with the prospects of family reunions, and announced the release of the prisoners—contingent upon the United States' willingness to accept them. Castro would release them to walk free in Miami, but not in Havana. The entire performance, says Aguilar, was "coldly calculated."

Castro even managed to portray the Carter Administration as the human rights laggard, since it refused to accept the prisoners as fast as he, compassionate Fidel, would release them. As Aguilar points out, this is a grand irony; many of the prisoners have been held for twenty years and are reaching the end of their 1959, post-revolution prison terms. "You put the people in prisons, you torture them for years [the torture ended in the late 1960s], and then you claim that the U.S. is the culprit for not accepting them fast enough," says Modesto Maidique, of Harvard University and Of Human Rights. "That's *chutzpah*."

According to Maidique, a prime Castro strategy is to influence the American Left. Liberals are alarmed more by political prisoners than by MiG-23s or imperialism in Africa. By seeming generous on this "humanitarian" issue, Castro hopes to keep criticism of his other affronts confined to conservatives, as well as to create a formidable left-wing lobby for normalization. Before his announcement about the three thousand prisoners, the U.S. offered a much more united front against improved relations with Cuba; Castro has probably weakened that resolve.

By all accounts, Castro's first foreign policy goal is the elimination of the U.S. trade embargo. As *rapprochement* with China has prompted U.S. investment there, so would it in Cuba. "If there is one colossal disaster of the Cuban revolution, it is the economic results," says Maidique. "At best the economy is still where it was twenty years ago. Castro needs agricultural and industrial technology."

Additional proof that the prisoner release is more diplomatic gambit than humanitarian virtue is provided by the number of prisoners. Castro claims that the three thousand to be released are 80 per cent of the total Cuban political prisoner population; he asserts that only *batistianos* (who fought originally with Batista against Castro) and "terrorists" will remain in jail. Incredibly, both Amnesty International and the State Department accept Castro's figures, though Cuba has never allowed Amnesty inside its prison camps. But a more scrupulous human rights group, the International Rescue Commission, offered this assessment in 1977: "Estimates of the number of prisoners vary from five thousand to more than fifty thousand. The five-thousand figure has been given by Castro himself and by other Cuban officials. It is obviously understated. . . . Yet even this [five-thousand] figure in proportion to Cuba's population is higher than the number of political convicts in the Soviet Union in relation to Russia's population. . . ."

According to William Ratliff, of Stanford University's Hoover Institution, any precise accounting also depends on how one defines "political prisoner." Castro probably defines it rigorously to include only those committing blatant political acts. But, says Ratliff, "*anyone* who wants to express his political opposition has to violate some law. The Cuban laws are constructed this way. . . . I would guess that Castro has had many, many more thousands of people arrested for crimes that were motivated by political dissent," but they are classified merely as common criminals.

Even upon the completion of a prison term, a dissenter's troubles continue. A special tribunal, influenced by Castro, then judges whether each prisoner is a "danger to the state." The dangerous are returned to prison. For instance, Huber Matos, who fought against Batista but was later imprisoned for opposing Castro's Communization, remains in prison. So does Dr. Martha Frayde, another revolutionary who objected to Castro's embrace of the Soviet Union; she recently received a 29-year prison term for espionage.

As an additional tactical ploy, Castro hopes to split the allegiance of the nearly one million Cubans living in exile in North and South America. These exiles, like most refugees from Communist revolutions, have been the fiercest of anti-Communists. But passions fade with time and new security, and the young do not remember; friends and family remain in Cuba. "To some extent Castro has probably already split the movement," says Ratliff, a fact which further diminishes the persuasiveness of conserative opposition to improved relations. Exiled victims plead more eloquently than politicians or journalists.

January 1979 marked the twentieth anniversary of the Cuban revolution. It may also mark the year that Fidel Castro invigorates his faltering economy with the technology of American industry and the recognition of American diplomacy. □

Mr. Gigot is a NATIONAL REVIEW *editor.*

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Crime or Punishment?

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

OUR COURTS do not do well in enforcing a legal order in which law-abiding citizens can be secure in their lives, their liberties, and their pursuit of happiness. Yet it is "to secure these rights" that "governments are instituted among men." Our courts, rather than concentrating on whether those arrested for a crime are guilty of it, are preoccupied with deciding whether there was "probable cause" for the arrest. They are less concerned with the defendant's guilt or innocence than with whether the evidence for his guilt is admissible. If it isn't—if a policeman made an error in seizing the evidence—the defendant gets off, however many murders he has committed.

The exclusionary rule on which this procedure rests is a late invention of our courts (in no way mandated by the Constitution). A letter to the *New York Times* illustrates its perverse effects:

> . . . I was mugged at the front door of my house in Hollis Hills, Queens. The mugger was caught within three hours of my report to the police. I pressed charges, and six hearings over a span of six months ensued. . . . All the evidence which helped catch the mugger was offered: 1) description of car—year, type, color; 2) license plate number—one number off, M instead of W; 3) $40 in the mugger's pocket in the exact bills I reported missing; 4) an autoharp pick—he did not even know what an autoharp is; 5) an almost exact approximation of his height and weight; 6) accurate description of his clothing, etc. . . . The mugger was freed after the sixth hearing because of *an illegal search of vehicle by the policeman.* [My italics.]
>
> Last night on Channel 5 news, there was an item about the $1 rapist, who was finally caught after raping about 25 women in Queens. His name [was] Leroy Hamlin; [he] was the same man who had mugged me. . . . Mr. Hamlin had several previous arrests prior to mugging me.

Six adjournments! Six months! for a man the police caught in three hours. Unfortunately this is not unusual. Only the persistence of the complainant was. Usually complainants and witnesses are discouraged from testifying by repeated adjournments, if they are not sufficiently intimidated by the threats that offenders—out on bail—can and do make with practical immunity.

Could this be an isolated instance in which the exclusionary rule was misused by a lower court? Consider *U.S.* v. *Montgomery*. Police made a routine traffic stop after suspicion had been aroused by a car's repeatedly circling in the same area. The driver had an arrest warrant outstanding against him; the police searched the car. They found bullets, an unregistered revolver (loaded), an unregistered sawed-off shotgun, and shells. The driver was found guilty in trial court. The court of appeals freed him, saying the policemen's suspicions, however justified they turned out to have been, did not suffice for searching the car. According to the court of appeals, the "probable cause" which authorizes arrest or search requires, in practice, that a crime has already been committed and witnessed. Police are not allowed to prevent it. A man cannot be convicted for having unregistered arms in his car unless he uses or, at least, displays them. And, in this matter, state courts are certainly no better—they can't be, because defendants can appeal to the federal bench.

Joseph W. Bishop Jr., Ely Professor of Law at Yale University, in his review (*Commentary*) of Justice Macklin Fleming's thorough book *The Price of Perfect Justice*, affords the layman a glance at what happens:

> . . . the incarceration of even the most obviously guilty criminal is a task comparable to landing a barracuda with a trout-rod and dry-fly. . . . Justice Fleming itemizes 26 separate state and federal proceedings in which a defendant can challenge the lawfulness of a single search or seizure. Moreover, he can petition for *habeas corpus ad libitum*, hoping finally to find a federal judge who agrees with him and disagrees with all the other judges, for the doctrine of *res judicata*—that an issue finally determined by a court cannot be reopened—does not apply to *habeas corpus*. . . .

Few criminals are ever caught. And our courts seem to feel that equal protection of the laws requires that they be let go—after all, why single out for punishment the small proportion of the criminal population which gets caught? Even when a reluctant judiciary manages to find a defendant guilty, he is treated—well, the *New York Times* recently carried the following story. (It often carries analogous stories.)

> Davereaux Wiggins, who was accused of hurling a 28-year-old airline stewardess in front of an onrushing subway train last July after he put a knife to her throat and grabbed her handbag, was sentenced to four to twelve years in prison yesterday after pleading guilty to a robbery charge. A charge of attempted murder was dropped, and the sentence was half the maximum that could have been imposed.
>
> Mr. Wiggins reportedly told detectives that the airline stewardess, Anne Picyk, was the fourth subway passenger he had pushed in front of a train that month. . . .
>
> The twenty-year-old defendant had been indicted for an attempted

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murder and robbery, each of which is a felony carrying a maximum sentence of 25 years in jail. Justice Roberts accepted Mr. Wiggins' guilty plea to the robbery charge, described the defendant's act as "an horrendous crime," and then imposed sentence. Mr. Wiggins will be eligible for parole after four years. . . .

Both of Miss Picyk's legs were fractured in the fall, but she managed to scramble to her feet and hoist herself up the side of the platform. The station was already vibrating with the approach of a train in the distance.

The moment she got her hands over the platform edge, she told police, her assailant kicked her in the face and sent her sprawling back onto the tracks. The train, by then, had almost reached the beginning of the platform. . . .

After Mr. Wiggins pushed her in front of the train, he took the keys to her Columbus Avenue apartment from her purse and was apprehended at the apartment by the police while stealing her clothes and jewelry.

Mr. Wiggins had previously been arrested for pushing a ninety-year-old man onto the tracks of the IRT station at West 181st Street. That charge was dropped when the victim was unable to identify him. . . .

Note: 1) the most serious charge, although accurate, was dropped (trial is quite a risk for the prosecution these days); 2) no charge for the burglary; 3) the judge, aware that the more serious charge had been dropped, and aware that he could have sentenced the defendant to a richly deserved 25-year term on the remaining charge, sentenced him to one-third of the time he could have been given for his "horrendous crime," making parole possible after four years. I guess His Honor doesn't ride the subway.

Prisoner of Ideology

By now even official bodies realize the need to reform our criminal justice non-system. According to the *New York Times*, "A special committee of prosecutors and lawyers found] current sentencing practices 'erratic and unpredictble,'" so as to "'resemble a lottery'" in which "'mere chance, ather than the rule of law, often governs the way we sentence riminals.'" Wherefore the committee proposed to abolish judicial discretion and parole. (I have urged abolition of both or years.) But however rotten it be, there are always defenders of the status quo. Charles E. Silberman now has come to heir aid with *Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice* (Random House, 1978).

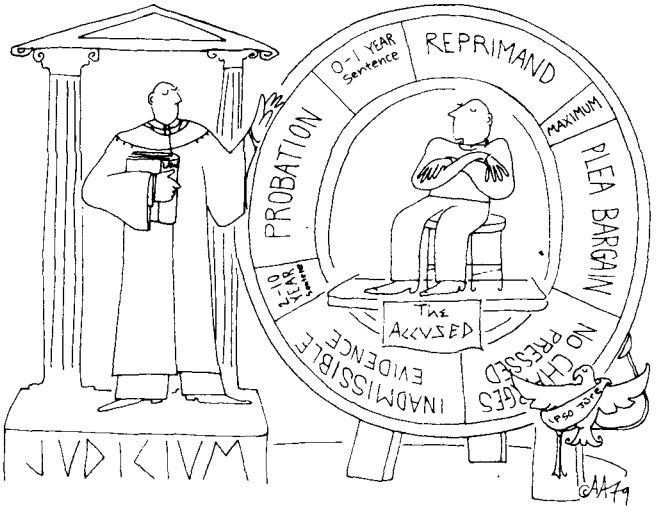
As the author gratefully acknowledges, nearly every Establishment figure in the criminal justice system worked with him on this book. (Some praise their own product on the dust-jacket without letting on; which doesn't seem quite cricket.) Nonetheless, the book is written in a clear journalistic style—although I could do with fewer solecisms such as "not all the minutiae is necessary": these minutiae are. There is no doubt about Silberman's sincerity and good will toward men. Nor about his diligence: the book is crammed with facts and quotations.

The chapters on prison and on juvenile justice do accurately and extensively describe what's going on. This helps—although Silberman does not propose any feasible and effective remedies. He has learned, at least, that rehabilitation does not work and that the juvenile court system doesn't work either. Other liberals learned this earlier (non-liberals have known it all along), but at the Ford Foundation, which funded Silberman's work, it may be news. McGeorge Bundy, its president, "is proud" of *Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice*. He may well be. For in Charles E. Silberman, McGeorge Bundy has found someone who would run the war against crime as the Administrations he served in the Sixties ran the war in Vietnam. Keep restricting the authority of the troops to fight (or arrest, or consider evidence), while insisting they are not hamstrung and that the rise in crime (or enemy power) has nothing to do with these restrictions. Have optimistic reports written: things are better (at least no worse) than in 1920. Ask for more money, more troops, to be thrown into the fight. There is light at the end of the tunnel . . .

Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice is misleading on a much larger scale than it needs to be for its defense of the status quo. So totally a prisoner of his ideology is Silberman that he does not suspect he has one. The lack of self-awareness keeps him honest, but has the disadvantage of preventing him from understanding his subject.

Vague yet pervasive, Silberman's ideology may be described as nostalgic reformist-liberal guilt (1960 vintage) with (severely localized) attacks of rationality. Thus, Silberman's overall remedies for our high crime rates are income redistribution and an end to racism and inequality. This charitable sentiment responds to guilt feelings, but ignores facts. Sir Leon Radzinowicz—hardly a conservative—writes in *The Growth of Crime* that, as affluence spreads, crime follows: "In Sweden, the model of equable prosperity and enlightened law, the [crime] rate went up 44 per cent . . . In the solid and industrious Netherlands, 55 per cent." (Sweden and the Netherlands are not well known for racism and inequality.) However, with the help of our courts we do much better: in Manhattan there are more murders every year than in the whole of England and Wales—and Manhattan's murder rate is not high compared to that of other American cities. As elsewhere, in the U.S. a more equal distribution of income and less racism actually have been associated with higher crime rates.

About black criminality, Silberman's naïve theories once



Mr. van den Haag's most recent book is Punishing Criminals: Concerning a Very Old and Painful Question, *published by Basic Books.*

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more suggest displaced guilt feelings but tell us nothing about their object. They appear to justify what they seek to explain. (However, to his credit, Silberman does admit the remarkably high black crime rate—which he blames on past oppression.)

According to Silberman, "it is plain wrong" of me (in my *Punishing Criminals*) to "rail against 'the fact that so small a proportion of all crimes committed—about 1 per cent—ever lead to imprisonment.'" The actual punishment rate "turns out to be 65 per cent." Silberman neglects to mention that my figure was credited to Ramsey Clark, not generally known as an enemy of judicial leniency or of the exclusionary rule.

Silberman's 65 per cent is absurd—only Japan has so high a rate of punishment (and a correspondingly low crime rate). Even in England the punishment rate is only about 4 per cent—four times higher than ours (the crime rate is correspondingly lower), but nowhere near Silberman's 65 per cent. How does he get his figure? He a) confuses my "all crimes" with the seven crimes indexed by the FBI, and b) my "crimes committed" with crimes reported to and by the police (probably about one-third of those committed); then c) he suddenly switches to the proportion punished out of all arrested offenders rather than out of the perpetrators of all "crimes committed" (about 25 per cent of all crimes lead to an arrest); then d) he decides to exclude all crimes committed by juveniles—etc., etc. His 65 per cent is the arithmetically correct end-product of these manipulations, but has nothing to do with "the proportion of all crimes committed [that] lead to imprisonment," which Ramsey Clark and I referred to. The 65 per cent punishment rate is correct—for a highly selected group of convicted felons; Silberman could have been even more selective and reached 90 per cent, or 100 per cent. (Indeed, for the group selected, 65 per cent is scandalously low.)

In any case, Silberman's confusion, ignorantly or deliberately, misdescribes the effectiveness of the criminal justice system. The imprisonment rate for all crimes committed unfortunately is "about 1 per cent." There is plenty of evidence for this. E.g., of 10,000 persons arrested for robbery (a major crime) in one year in California, only 1,300 were incarcerated (i.e., 13 per cent *of those arrested* for robbery). Only about one-third of all robberies are reported, and about one-quarter of the reports result in arrest. California is not exceptional, and things have not improved.

Escaping Punishment

On a first reading I did not see wherein Silberman's manipulations could do anything but mislead the unwary, including, perhaps, him. But there is method in this madness. Silberman tries to show that judicial foolishness, or leniency, is not to blame, that our courts do well, that "it is not true that significant numbers of guilty offenders escape punishment"; that actually "only a handful of criminals escape arrest, conviction, or punishment because of exclusionary rules, search-and-seizure laws, and other technicalities designed to protect defendants' rights."* *Utinam haberetis!*

Is it really "not true that significant numbers of guilty offenders escape punishment"? (Why the pleonastic "guilty

*I have taken the last few quotations from Silberman's own summary of his book in the *New York Times*, November 14, 1978.

offenders"? Where are innocent offenders found?) Conside these data. The crime rate rose 144 per cent from 1960 t 1970. (Crime rose 176 per cent—the difference is accounte for by the rise in population.) In 1960, 118 persons out o 100,000 were in prison. In 1970, 96 were—a drop of 19 pe cent. Hence the proportion of offenders imprisoned—low t begin with—*must* have declined sharply. Other data confirn as much. Thus, while crime rates rose 144 per cent, the num ber of convictions decreased from 117 to 95 per 100,000. Sil berman will find it hard to persuade anyone familiar with th data that "it is not true that significant numbers of guilt offenders [escaped] punishment." They certainly did. The still do.

According to the *New York Times* (not a paper known t "rail" against the judiciary—indeed, a paper Mr. Silberma quotes at length when convenient): ". . . the defendant [tend to have] the upper hand in bargaining about sentences i Criminal Court. The repeaters know this from experience The novice learns it from friends or his lawyer."

Some illustrations? "Hosie S. Turner was convicted of mur der after a month-long trial." His prior record included "1 convictions for robbery, burglary, larceny, parole violation drug possession and sale. . . . He invariably was allowed t plead guilty to a lesser charge."

"Willie Poinsette had a record of 21 previous arrests when on April 8, 1973, he was charged with robbery and possessio of a gun, both felonies. If convicted on these charges he would have faced up to 32 years in prison. Two days later in Crimi nal Court, Mr. Poinsette pleaded guilty to petit larceny, and was sentenced to two months in city jail."

"Melvin Lewis was 19 and had a record of 13 previous ar rests [juvenile arrests are not recorded, of course] when h was charged with possession of a knife and attempted rob bery, both felonies. If convicted of these charges, he would have faced up to 14 years in prison. Mr. Lewis pleaded guilty to attempted grand larceny, a misdemeanor, and was sentenced to ten months in city jail. He was conditionally re leased on parole to a rehabilitation center three months later. Shortly after disappearing from the rehabilitation center on January 21, he was arrested for assaulting two civilians and a police officer. A week later he was charged with wounding a

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police officer and killing Mr. Walker." Which is why the *New York Times* reported Mr. Lewis' doings. For these are not isolated instances. They are so typical, so much a matter of routine, that they are not usually reported.

How come Silberman overlooks what everyone knows? Not surprisingly, the names of Professor Bishop and of Justice Fleming, whom I quoted earlier, do not appear in his index. Both are well known and highly respected—but inconvenient to ideologues. Silberman blithely tells us that the exclusionary rule—which makes evidence obtained by improper methods inadmissible in court—prevents few convictions. He reached this conclusion by looking at trial records and at research reports, the methodology of which he does not describe and has not checked. I can't take these reports or Silberman's interpretation seriously. They contradict what the naked eye can see; and they come from the researchers who for years tried to convince us that deterrence cannot work, and that we should rehabilitate and not punish. They got us where we are.

Evidence, however convincing, comes to court only if the prosecution has some hope that it will be admitted. Offenders will not be prosecuted and trials do not occur if the prosecution knows that the court will exclude the evidence needed for conviction. Thus the main effects of the exclusionary rule are: a) offenders are not arrested when the police cannot get the evidence or know that it won't be admitted; b) if arrested, offenders are released by prosecutors when they learn that the evidence won't be admitted; c) if not released by the prosecutor, they are released on arraignment; d) in plea bargaining—which, as Silberman notes, decides 90 percent of all cases—prosecutors, when they know that much of their evidence may not be admitted are compelled to accept guilty pleas for offenses carrying a penalty below that threatened for the crimes actually committed. That is how many of the offenders who are actually prosecuted—a small proportion of all offenders—escape most punishment, even when courts are willing to impose it.

Silberman feels that it is unfair to accuse the courts. Is the exclusionary rule their fault? Indeed it is; the judiciary invented the exclusionary rule in 1914 and imposed it on the states in 1961. The Constitution prohibits unreasonable searches and seizures. Hence, those guilty of such searches and seizures should be punished and held responsible for damages. But not to admit the evidence available to the court—however procured—and then to release guilty defendants for lack of evidence harms society and does not punish the policemen who committed procedural error or unlawful acts.

This judicial invention—admittedly not required by the Constitution†—does not protect the innocent; it protects only the guilty. Only a guilty defendant can profit from non-admission of the evidence showing his guilt; an innocent defendant obviously cannot. (And in practice he won't be compensated for an unlawful search; but such compensation would be independent of the exclusionary rule anyway. The exclusionary rule, the incredible delays in our judicial process, and the infinite complications that Professor Bishop and Justice Fleming only partially list, all were invented by the judiciary, who do not deserve Silberman's encomia—but who in turn gratefully praise his work. He deserves their gratitude; but not that of law-abiding citizens.

Silberman defends plea bargaining as if the issue were to abolish it. It is not. There is nothing wrong with the prosecution and defense anticipating the likely outcome and sparing us the actual trial. (Less sordid, more public, better supervised procedures would help, but let that go.) What is wrong is that the judiciary has so weakened the position of prosecutors that they must habitually agree to inappropriate punishment because they cannot hope to do better by trial. Silberman's views deserve to be quoted here:

> Most important of all, it is *not* true that the guilty escape punishment; when charges are dropped, it usually is because the victim refuses to press charges, or because the prosecutor lacks the evidence needed to sustain [*sic*: you've got to obtain a conviction before it can be sustained—I guess Silberman means "obtain"] a conviction.

Whatever leads Silberman to believe "it is *not* true that the guilty escape punishment" escapes me. If a victim "refuses to press charges" or a prosecutor "lacks the evidence," does that make the guilty innocent? Or does it cause them to "escape punishment"—whether they are guilty or not? Silberman prudently does not hazard a guess as to why victims "refuse to press charges" (do they fall in love with their robbers, assailants, or burglars?), or why prosecutors "lack the evidence." It might have something to do with the futility of pressing charges and the difficulty of collecting admissible evidence—both obstacles created by the judiciary. Perish the thought.

The Victims of Probation

About probation, Silberman comments: "The fact that so many probationers ended up behind bars suggests that being sentenced to probation constitutes punishment, too." Really? Probation suspends punishment and permits the probationer to avoid it if he behaves. Since probation supervision is a bad joke, in practice probationers go to prison only when they are caught committing new crimes. That so many of them continue their criminal careers while on probation, and that some are caught and (*mirabile dictu*) prosecuted, shows not that "probation constitutes punishment, too," as Silberman says, but that the court was wrong in not punishing the offenders when they were convicted in the first place. Instead, the court gave them the opportunity, sedulously used by many, to commit additional crimes. Probation, in these cases, "constitutes punishment, too"—for society and for innocent victims, not for the criminals the courts exist to punish. They are imprisoned only as punishment for additional crimes, which probation gave them the opportunity to commit.

Even if one subtracts demographic factors, our crime rates remain remarkably and quite unnecessarily high. Our punishment rates are remarkably and unnecessarily low—which is one reason why our crime rates are as high as they are. Silberman has misinterpreted the data and concluded that it is not so. "There's none so blind as they that won't see," Swift said. He was right. Crime rates will remain unnecessarily high as long as readers can be persuaded to believe what *Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice* tells them. □

†In *Calandra* (1974) the Supreme Court declared the exclusionary rule not "a constitutional right." In 1976 the Court admitted that the rule was irrational, a point made forcefully many years ago by Benjamin Cardozo. (See Steven R. Schlesinger's thorough *Exclusionary Injustice*, New York, 1977.)

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A SALT II Primer: An Interview with Henry Kissinger

We want, first, to ask you about your attitude to ratification by the Senate of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT), which should shortly be signed between Russia and America.

At this point the negotiations are not yet completed. We do not have a text to study and to analyze. The most useful contribution an outsider can make is to put forward criteria by which SALT should be judged. We have to avoid nitpicking at individual provisions because obviously any agreement between superpowers represents a balance of compromises; hence it is bound to be somewhat imperfect. Equally we must not shrink from raising concerns about the strategic and political environment within which the treaty will exist because this environment will determine whether the treaty contributes to peace and security. This is the context within which I should like to discuss SALT.

Put, if you will, the SALT treaty now under discussion (SALT II) in the context of SALT I, which you negotiated in 1970-72.

The first agreements occurred after our predecessors had unilaterally stopped our build-up in the 1960s based on a theory, which I then shared, that there was an upper limit beyond which additional strategic forces made no sense. In the early 1970s, in the face of an ominous Soviet build-up, the Administration in which I served sought to reverse this process. But under the impact of the Vietnam turmoil its defense programs were being cut by the Congress every year. Every new weapons program we put forward was systematically attacked or dismantled. As a result, starting in 1970 our Defense Department was pleading with us to negotiate a freeze on the Soviets lest the disparity in numbers would continue to grow. We needed a freeze not only for arms control but for strategic reasons. The negotiating position was as follows:

The Soviets were insisting on negotiating an agreement for the limitation on defensive armaments only, in which we had a potential advantage, even though we were under murderous congressional pressure to abandon the anti-ballistic missile (ABM). The Congress cut our original program for ABM from twelve sites to four sites, and then to only two sites, even while we were negotiating. So we finally accepted an agreement which permitted each side to have two ABM sites, before the Congress dismantled even those. We made an ABM agreement conditional on offensive limitations. At that time the only realistic offensive limitation was a freeze, because the Soviets were building up, while as a result of decisions made by our predecessors and the yearly budgetary cuts, we were not building a single new weapons system. From that point of view the fact that we achieved a freeze, and the fact that this forced the retirement of 210 older Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) which had a first-strike capacity, plus thirty older submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), was a significant achievement.

Our strategy was to agree on a five-year freeze—the interval we judged would enable us to catch up by developing cruise missiles, a new submarine (Trident), a new ICBM (MX), and the B-1 bomber. No sooner had we concluded the agreement than it was criticized for giving the Soviets a numerical advantage. That argument was absurd and showed the disintegration of seriousness in our domestic debate. What gave the Russians their numerical advantage was the American decisions of the mid-1960s not to react to the Soviet build-up, coupled with the congressional decisions to cut our military budget anywhere from 5 to 10 per cent each year, even when we were presenting extraordinarily lean budgets.

But did you see that as freezing equality or freezing a superiority in terms of missile throw-weight?

We froze a disparity which we inherited in order to gain time to reverse the situation. And we did. We stopped no program; we accelerated several: the Trident submarine and the B-1, for example. And we started the cruise missile and MX. If there had been no agreement, we could have done no more: and we would have been worse off because the Soviets were in a position to add numbers immediately and we were not. In the eight years prior to the agreement, the Soviets built at the rate of about two hundred land- and sea-based missiles every year. A good case in point was the agreement limiting the number of submarine-launched ballistic missiles. At that time the Soviets were starting eight or nine submarines a year. Before we agreed I asked our Joint Chiefs of Staff to choose between two options: no limitations on submarine-launched missiles, in which case we

This interview with Mr. Kissinger first appeared in The Economist *and is reprinted here with its permission.*

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would have to go into a crash program on a slightly improved version of one of our existing submarines; or alternatively to wait for the new Trident submarine slated for operation around 1978. Our military insisted that they did not want us to build additional submarines of the existing type. They preferred to wait for the Trident. Thus we had no alternatives except 1) to build the submarines that our navy didn't want, or 2) to give the Soviets a free run for five years, or 3) to freeze the Soviets. We chose the latter. And that was never made explicit in the somewhat demagogic debate that started after the agreement was concluded.

Now project that forward into the agreement which is being negotiated at the moment, the basic terms of which most people seem to be aware of.

I don't think the present agreement is needed in order to catch up. That is not the argument that should be made on behalf of the present agreement. Under present circumstances the question is whose programs will be more affected by the agreement.

Then do you think that there is an imbalance even in the present agreement in terms of sheer throw-weight available on both sides?

It is very difficult to have an absolutely symmetrical agreement, since the philosophies of the two sides in designing their weapons have been so different. The United States originally decided to build small missiles with high accuracy. The Soviet Union opted for very large missiles which at that time were much less accurate. In the late 1970s the Soviets, having larger missiles, can use their throw-weight for more multiple warheads than can the United States, and they are improving their accuracy. However, I don't think missile throw-weight should be the only criterion, because at a certain level of accuracy additional throw-weight is not needed.

The real issue is what the strategic forces of the two sides are capable of doing. This in turn decides the impact of military capabilities on the conduct of foreign policy and especially on the conduct of crises. I think it is generally recognized that by some time in the early 1980s the Soviet Union will have the capability to destroy with a reasonable degree of confidence most of our land-based ICBMs. In the same period of time we will not be able to destroy the Soviet ICBM force. This creates a gap in the design of the two forces that is bound to have geopolitical consequences, especially since we are clearly inferior in forces capable of local intervention.

And you'd like to see that remedied.

I would like to set it in terms of geopolitical realities. During the entire postwar period, it is obvious that the Soviet Union has always had a substantial superiority in the capacity for local intervention, in almost all crisis areas. But that was counterbalanced to a substantial degree by the strategic superiority of the United States. For purposes of this discussion I define strategic superiority as the ability by the United States to pose a risk, or at least a perceived risk, to the Soviet Union: the threat that it might lose most of its strategic retaliatory force if it pushed a crisis beyond a certain point. This knowledge inspired a high degree of caution.

For example, during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis the Soviet Union had something like sixty to seventy truly strategic weapons, while we had something like two thousand (in missiles and bombs). As late as the American alert in 1973, we had something like seven to eight thousand weapons for strategic forces and the Soviets had something like sixteen hundred ICBMs that were not yet very accurate and not yet very well protected. Of course it is possible to demonstrate that, with some proportion of Soviet delivery vehicles surviving, the Soviet Union could do horrendous damage to the United States. Nevertheless, for conservative-minded Soviet marshals this was a very uneasy balance that one would not be likely to test.

And the present figure is . . . ?

By 1982 the figure would be roughly eight thousand as against about seven thousand. Moreover, most of these seven thousand will have high accuracy and will be located in sites not substantially vulnerable to our strategic forces. In terms of damage this means in effect parity; but the design of the opposing forces enables the Soviets to destroy a much larger percentage of our land-based forces than we can theirs.

The practical result is that in a local, regional crisis the Soviet capacity for intervention must become more politically significant than in the past. And will be perceived as being more significant. The conduct of American policy in crises will inevitably become more cautious. This is an event of geopolitical significance.

Can we distinguish for a moment between counterforce capability and the capability of the United States to retaliate against a Soviet attack?

Retaliatory capability is the amount of civilian and industrial damage that can be inflicted. Counterforce capability is the ability to destroy military forces targeted against us. I believe that the side whose only strategic option is to target the civilian population and the industrial capacity of its opponent, and which can define no military objective, will be relying on a strategy that will be psychologically and politically almost untenable—especially if it is also inferior in forces for local intervention. Every calculation with which I am familiar indicates that a general nuclear war in which civilian populations are the primary target will produce casualties exceeding 100 million. Such a degree of devastation is not a strategic doctrine; it is an abdication of moral and political responsibility. No political structure could survive it.

Therefore we must be clear what we mean when we speak of destructive capability. The SALT debate must address the issue to what degree an agreement will affect our ability to change this situation. I am quite willing to accept the proposition that our retaliatory capability is enormous, but if the only

By some time in the early 1980s the Soviet Union will have the capability to destroy most of our land-based ICBMs. We will not be able to destroy the Soviet ICBM force

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Guadeloupe: An Aside

Do you think the four Western leaders who met in Guadeloupe [Presidents Carter and Giscard d'Estaing, Federal Chancellor Schmidt, Prime Minister Callaghan] last month adequately expressed the coming dangers of the 1980s?

It is true the Guadeloupe summit was not designed to lead to formal pronouncements. But what was said met my concerns only partially.

I agreed with the argument that we should not deal with China as a "card" which it is for us to play. We did not create the Sino-Soviet rivalry and it is not being maintained as a favor to the West. The West has its own objectives, some of which parallel China's; others do not. It is, therefore, appropriate that Moscow understands that a genuine accommodation is open to it if it gives up its policy of constant pressure.

Still, Guadeloupe left me uneasy. It occurred during the weekend when Iran slipped into chaos and Vietnam occupied Cambodia, adding another demonstration of ruthless power politics to an already ample list. It did not seem to me that the pre-eminent necessity that weekend was to reassure Moscow, but rather to convey the imperative of some acceptable code of conduct. I am convinced that several of the participants —all of whom I consider friends— would privately agree that timidity increases our danger and confuses our public. I hope they will soon express their complete views.

→ probable targets are civilian it will nevertheless leave us politically paralyzed.

Or could do so . . .

Probably would do so.

That then raises the question of reducing the vulnerability of Minuteman and of whatever counterforce the United States has, does it not?

Yes, but how do you reduce vulnerability under conditions of a high degree of missile accuracy? One way is by mobility, and there are various concepts like the multiple-aim-point system. But I am not sure we have found a good answer to the question of vulnerability of land-based forces. And there is also the problem of the disparity in types of forces which makes numbers deceptive.

During the second half of the 1980s a high percentage of our strategic weapons will be cruise missiles, which are clearly retaliatory; from the time of the departure of the aircraft carrying them they take something like eight to twelve hours to reach the Soviet Union, while the Soviet ballistic missiles can reach the United States in a half-hour. A cruise missile is not a good counterforce weapon. Thus, having relieved the Soviet Union of fear of a counterforce strike—which is a theory to which I myself contributed in the 1950s and 1960s—serious questions arise about what will happen if, first, we have no significant counterforce capability; second, we are clearly inferior in our capacity for local intervention; and, finally, our political system projects the impression that the inhibitions against the use of local intervention are mounting. This will present grave problems for all free peoples; we must deal with the entire complex of issues urgently.

Are you saying that when a SALT treaty comes to be considered, a prerequisite for its ratification by the Senate should be an increase in the United States' counterforce capability?

Leaving aside the ratification question, I believe this is a necessity with or without SALT. The dilemmas which I have described will not go away. I am restless when I am told that we will never permit our military forces to become inferior, unless that declaration is coupled with an operational definition of what is meant by superior or inferior. Clearly, foreseeable nuclear forces are adequate to destroy tens of millions of people. The question is whether a democratic society can gear its diplomacy to such a strategy, and how we will act in a crisis if we have no other option. I have come to the view, which is different from the view I used to write about in the 1960s, that for one side to have counterforce capability and the other side not to have it (especially if that side is also inferior in forces for local intervention) must tempt a political disaster.

So the conclusion is what? What should American policy be?

SALT must be presented to the American people and our allies not simply in terms of the provisions of the agreement—which will immediately lead to a confusing technical debate—but in terms of American strategic doctrine. We must answer the question of all those whose security depends on us how, precisely and operationally, we will contribute to their defense. Can we cope with our perils under SALT conditions? I do not mean to prejudge the answer, but only to insist that an answer must be given. Another question concerns the relationship between restraint in arms and restraint in political action. It cannot be acceptable that there is restraint in arms and no restraint in political conduct.

Staying within the strategic-force context for the moment, does that mean then that during the period we are talking about you can see little that meets your criterion in terms of counterforce capability?

Under current programs, I do not see in the period 1980-87 an adequate emphasis on counterforce capability with or without SALT. I am not advocating any one particular weapons system, and in any case I am not a technical expert. Of the various weapons we were considering, the two that would have been most useful for a counterforce role were the MX and to a lesser extent the B-1. The B-1 has been scrapped and the timetable for the MX has been stretched out so that it is unfortunately barely relevant to the period we are talking about.

That bothers me because I also do not see an adequate development of

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The mere fact that some cruise missiles are in a separate category tends to inhibit their development. That must be the primary Soviet motive in insisting on the protocol

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forces for local defense by us or by our allies. Therefore the 1980s could turn into a period of great political instability. There is a growing gap between the global political alignment and the two sides' military capability. Soon most major countries in the world (the United States, Western Europe, China, and Japan) will be grouped on one side and the Soviet Union will be on the other. That may well be perceived in Moscow as a potential for encirclement. But for a period of five to seven years the Soviets may develop an advantage in power useful for political ends. On the one hand the Soviets may fear that if their opponents ever get their act together they will gain a rapid advantage even in military hardware. On the other hand the Soviet Union may perceive a period in which, though its political and economic instabilities are latent (but not yet overwhelming), its military power is potentially dominant. If it is not used in that period, the Soviets' long-term fate is extremely uncertain. Thus, we could be heading into a period of maximum peril.

The West must face up to that danger. If it merely waits, hoping for something to turn up, we will undergo a series of constantly mounting crises.

Should ratification of SALT, in senators' minds, be linked with these sorts of requirements that you see as necessary?

I think it is almost impossible to discuss SALT exclusively in terms of the provisions of the agreement. The decision to refuse to ratify SALT is of great magnitude; it cannot simply be based on inevitable imperfections in particular clauses. The treaty must be related to a total strategic and international framework, and the same certainly holds true for ratification.

Are you unhappy about the limitations on cruise missiles during the period of the protocol, combined with the stretching out of the Trident submarine program?

I basically do not like the idea of the protocol since it creates an illusory impression of temporariness. In fact it will be very hard to undo it; its provisions will raise a presumption for becoming the starting point of the next round of SALT. Moreover, the mere fact that some cruise missiles are in a separate category tends to inhibit their technological development. That must be the primary Soviet motive in insisting on the protocol. And I do not like a diplomatic instrument in which, as in the proposed protocol, all the obligations are on our side. At the same time let me distinguish between uneasiness about particular provisions and a recommendation against ratification. That decision involves many additional factors.

When you were negotiating SALT II, up until the change of Administration in January 1977, you had managed to avoid the isolation of cruise missiles from the rest of the treaty?

Of course we did not have a final agreement. But the last position under negotiation, which the Soviets claimed afterward could have been the basis for an agreement, was different in that our aim was to permit the deployment of medium-range ground-launched and ship-launched cruise missiles and to permit them in numbers related to the number of Backfire bombers. In fairness one must say that that was not a completed agreement, but the Soviets kept telling us that it was an adequate basis.

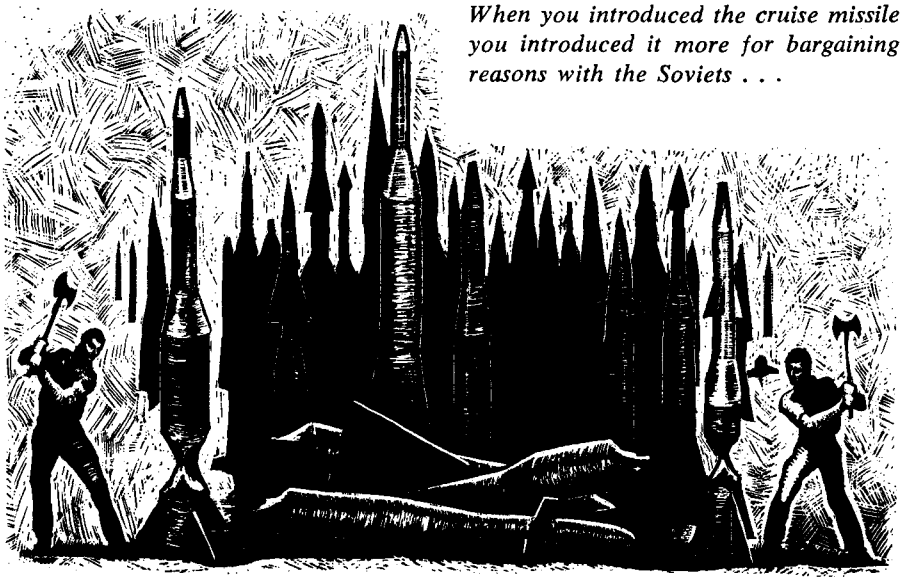
Whereas now Backfire seems to be going to be dealt with by a unilateral assurance by the Russians, whereas, on the American side, cruise missiles are going to be limited a) as to number and b) as to range. Do you think damagingly?

If the protocol expires, then not damagingly. On the other hand I don't know of any such protocol in the postwar period that has expired. Now, I know that there is a Senate resolution that will inhibit extending it, but this cannot prevent the protocol from becoming the point of departure for whatever happens at the end of this period. If, for example, the Soviets should offer to cut another hundred missiles at the end of the protocol period in return for extension of the protocol, it will not be easy to refuse.

Another aspect that concerns me is that by permitting us such a large number of air-launched cruise missiles the Soviets are also pushing our strategic development in the very direction that takes us away from a counterforce capability. Thus it gives the Soviets a high degree of confidence in a crisis. That confidence, in turn, may make crises more likely.

The elapsed time between the B-52s leaving their bases and cruise missiles reaching the Soviet Union is 13 hours. They can likely calculate the probable path of the cruise missile after it has been launched and therefore know which silos it might be aimed at if it is used in the counterforce mode. When there is very little time, I doubt that a country will fire on warning; but when 13 hours are available, the victim is almost bound to fire before its forces are attacked, particularly when it knows the almost certain target. And so the cruise missile, as a strategic retaliatory weapon, and as a tactical weapon in the European balance, has considerable utility. But it is not suitable as a counterforce weapon.

When you introduced the cruise missile you introduced it more for bargaining reasons with the Soviets . . .



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I did not introduce it into the discussion; I advocated it, though not to give it up altogether. I supported it because I became convinced in the early 1970s that we had made a mistake in the 1960s. So I looked at the cruise missile as primarily something to aid the penetration of the B-1 and to destroy the Soviet air defense. We were willing to limit it in return for equivalent Soviet limits. But we had never intended to give it up altogether.

But you didn't see it at the time as a strategic weapon?
I saw it as a retaliatory weapon and as an adjunct to a strategic weapon (the B-1). It did not occur to me that it would become the major part of one leg of the triad.

Do you think that we lost a lot in Europe by not having a neutron bomb? Should it be deployed?
What bothers me most about the neutron bomb is the debate itself. The so-called neutron bomb is less destructive than any weapon aimed at Europe by the Soviet Union; it has less radiation. Nevertheless it became a subject of such intense domestic debate that it suggests a dangerous degree of confusion and an inability of governments to educate their public. Then it was the first successful intrusion of the Soviet Union into unilateral weapons decisions in the West. That bothers me much more than the inherent significance of the neutron weapon, for which we can find substitutes.

At the moment we have no real answer, do we, in the European theater, to the SS-20?
No.

Which is, if you are a European, a little worrying.
If you assume that every weapon aimed at Europe must be answered by a weapon stationed in Europe. That is not self-evident.

Can we ask one further technical question on SALT, of great interest to us in Europe? Do you think the non-circumvention clause, whose exact terms we are obviously not yet fully aware of, promises to weaken the European end of the alliance?
I can't answer your question in the abstract, because the non-circumvention clause will prohibit us from doing for third countries what we ourselves would not do in the agreement itself. To respond sensibly I would have to know what the Europeans would do without the non-circumvention clause. If, in fact, the clause prevents the Europeans from developing weapons that they otherwise might develop, or, to put it another way, if the Europeans will be limited through this clause to exactly the same range of weapons that we have accepted, then we have given up —at least so far as cruise missiles are concerned—a capability that might be relevant to the defense of Europe.

Is your uneasiness on all these matters allayed at all by the increase in American defense spending, which in domestic political terms is quite brave?
First of all I agree that it is brave. Second, I of course support it. For the reasons I have described, out of the past 12 years we have really worked seriously on weapons procurement only four years. The current Administration complicated the situation further by their decisions—canceling the B-1, stretching out the MX missile schedule, stretching out the Trident schedule.

The Administration must not be measured against the courage it has shown in increasing the defense budget —which I grant—but against whether this defense budget and subsequent ones will meet the needs of the 1980s. And in this respect I have doubts. First of all, the 3 per cent increase is really more like 1 per cent, because the baseline was a reduction that took place last summer. Secondly, the congenital defects in the structure of American forces that have developed over a period of 15 years are not, in my view, fundamentally affected by this particular defense budget. Nor has Secretary Brown claimed that they are. We have asserted that our forces will be adequate, but we have not defined adequacy.

If our definition is the ability to kill a certain number of civilians, we have one problem. If one looks at the strategic problems of the 1980s, I feel that even this increased defense budget probably is not the answer.

At a minimum the ratification process should be used to put the Soviets on notice that the Congress cannot accept the constant challenges to the international order

We want to take you on to some of the political questions and geopolitical questions that you raised earlier. Should SALT in your view be linked to the good behavior of the Soviet Union?
Before I get into the question of linkage, which has developed an almost theological character, I would state a general proposition. It seems to me that the argument that SALT is so important that it is almost totally unrelated to any political conditions is extremely dangerous. This SALT agreement at best slightly limits existing weapons programs and it contains within it many dangers that I have already described. It can perhaps be defended on the ground that it does not inhibit us from rectifying the military imbalance which in the 1980s will face all free countries with the gravest dangers (even if they are reluctant to face these dangers for domestic reasons).

The viability and ratifiability of SALT depend importantly on those programs we will carry out, as permitted by the agreement. It therefore

(Continues on page 317)

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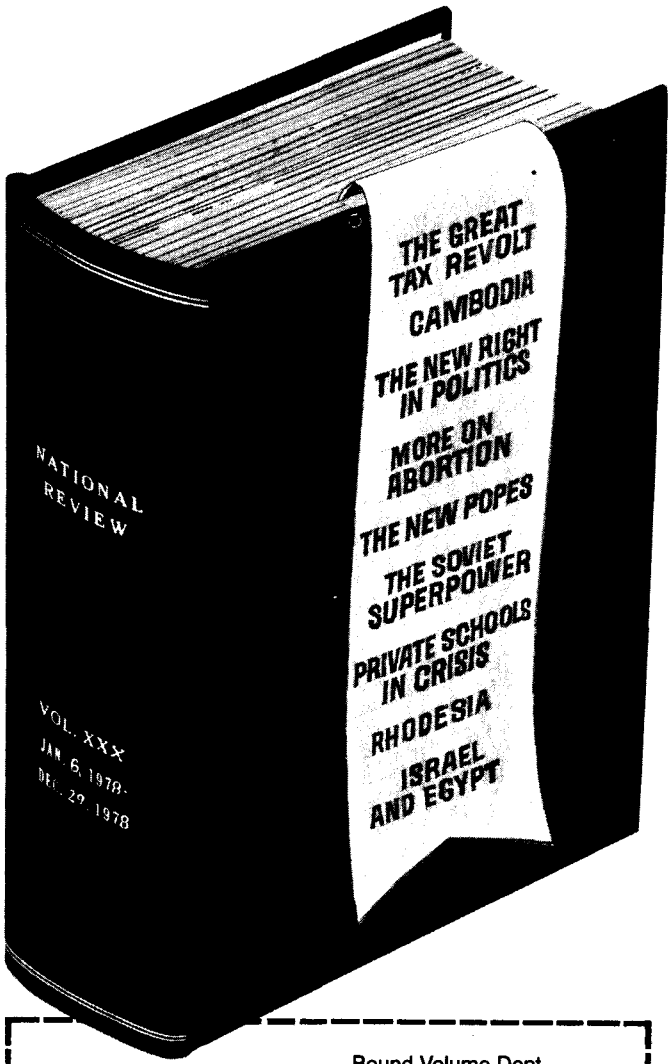

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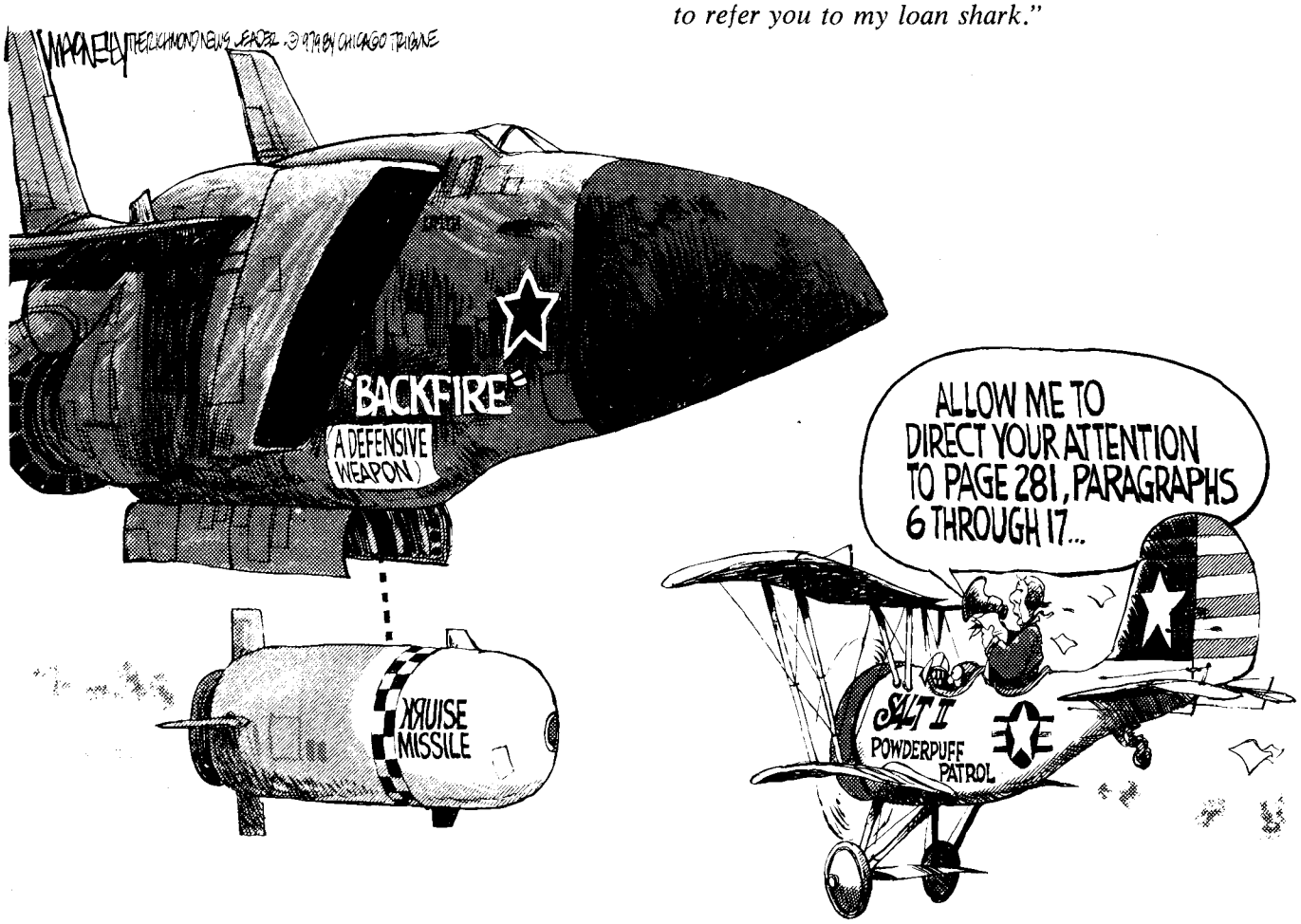
help !!!!

Queasy

Shall I purchase Krugerands
  And build a bleak retreat?
Shall I sell my equities
  And buy more frozen meat?
Will the dollar settle down?
  Will Labor ask for "more?"
Will I tend an apple stand
  In 1984?

W. H. von Dreele

"I'm afraid a raise is impossible, Elmo. However, I'll be happy to refer you to my loan shark."



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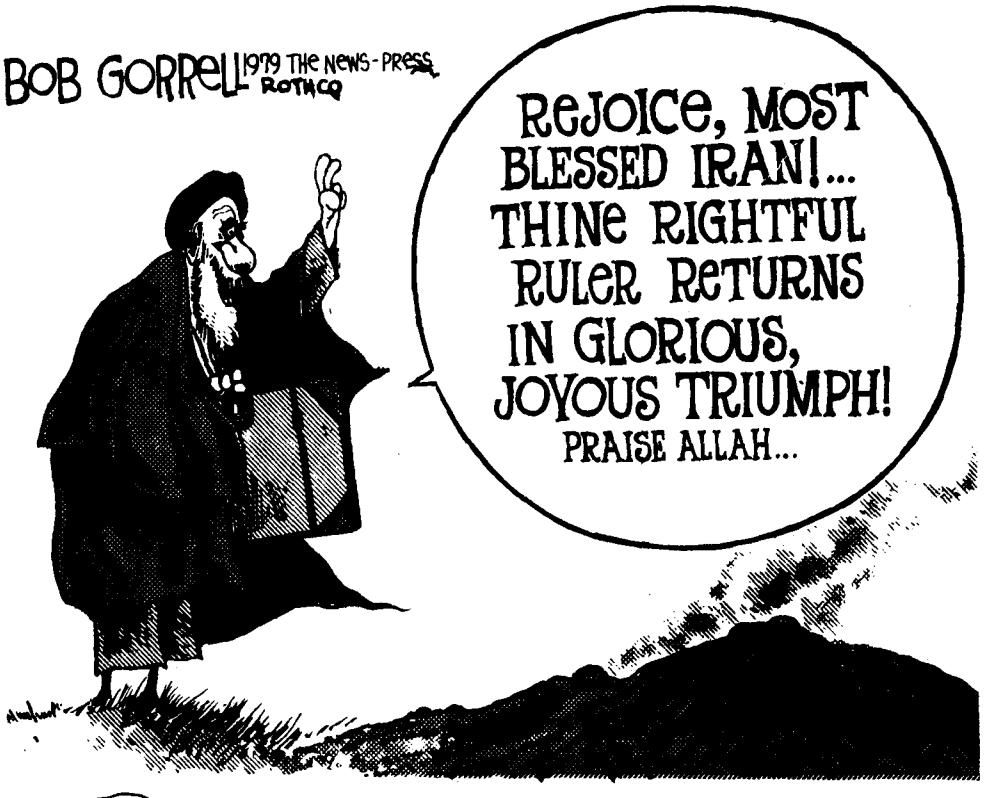
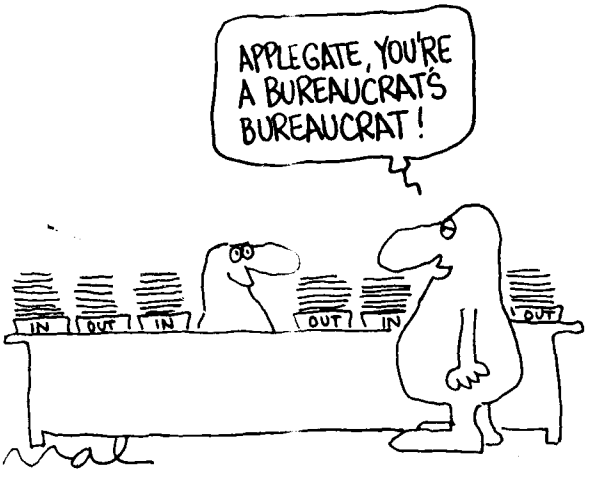
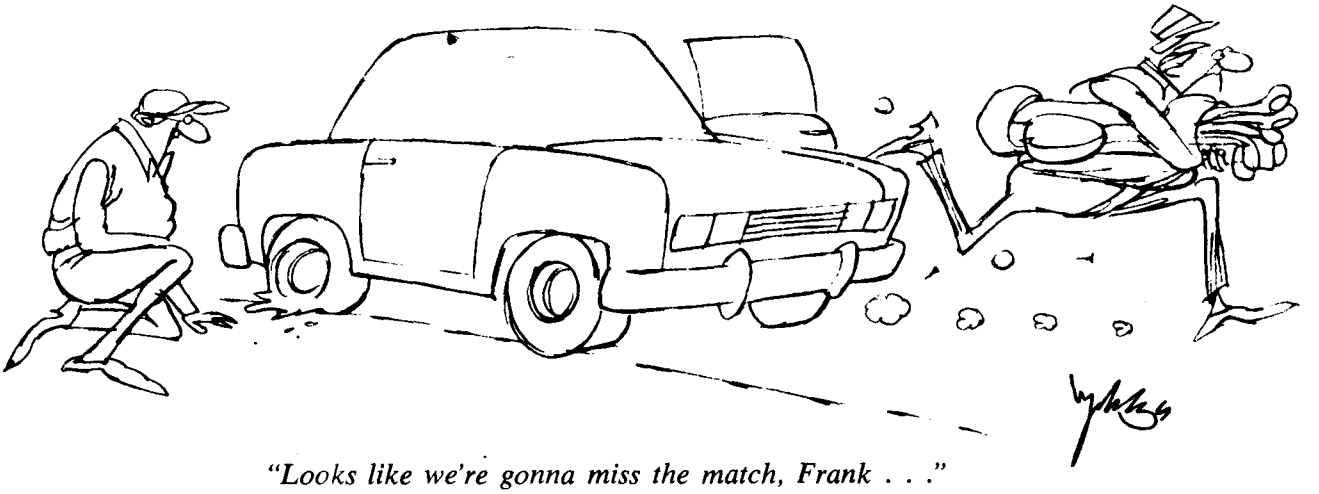

BOB GORRELL 1979 THE NEWS-PRESS ROTHCO
REJOICE, MOST BLESSED IRAN!... THINE RIGHTFUL RULER RETURNS IN GLORIOUS, JOYOUS TRIUMPH!
PRAISE ALLAH...





"Looks like we're gonna miss the match, Frank . . ."

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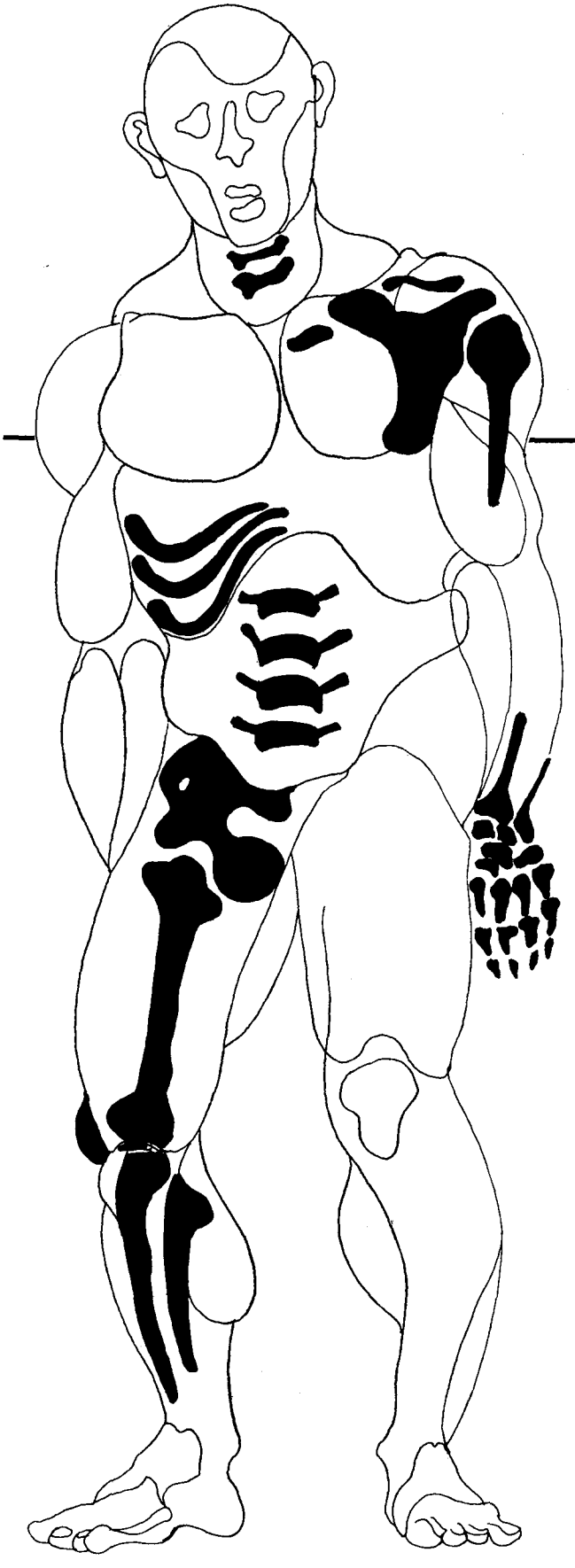
JOHANNES EFF



Your Erroneous Bones

I. Introduction

A GURU WEARING a bedsheet sat cross-legged before a group of rugged shipfitters wearing hard hats. It was their lunch hour and all the workmen had forgone lunch in order to learn how to use their chakras. They had just pledged themselves, every last man of them, to give up beer-drinking and Monday night football on TV, and to practice chastity between the equinoxes.

You may well ask, as did the yard superintendent, what strange power that guru had over that typical group of American blue-collar workers. Simple—he just wanted to be their guru. And, as I intend to show, you too can be anything you want to be. You just have to choose. You just have to say to yourself: "I will be what I want to be," and it will happen. Look, if it can happen to that guru, who used to be a lint-picker in a laundromat, it can happen to you, too. How do I know? I happen to be a guru myself, one who only yesterday was a piccolo player in a mail-order house for knights who took the long way home from the Crusades.

So you've come to the right place: my book, *Your Erroneous Bones*. I have one purpose and one purpose only—to show you how to eliminate your erroneous bones, bone by bone. You probably didn't realize that what is depriving you of happiness is the erroneous bones in your being. Yet there they are, and I have a chapter for each bone, showing you how to get rid of them.

Mr. Eff writes serious self-help books under the name John F. Cantwell Kiley (including Self-Rescue, *published recently by McGraw-Hill). This article is excerpted from his forthcoming book* Your Erroneous Bones.

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A friend of mine, Willy Lumpen, after hearing me give a speech at a convention for pants-pressers, wrote a poem to me entitled "Steam."

I am hot,
I am scrappy,
I am not
Very happy.

I want my freedom, want to dance—
I'm oh so sick of pressing pants.

I trust my advice will help you to eliminate all your erroneous bones so that you can dance, full steam ahead, to FREEDOM.

II. Taking Charge of Your Charge Card

LOOK OUT through your shower curtain. Somebody is dripping on your bathmat and using your talcum powder. For want of a better name, call him Your-Own-Death. You can continue washing under your armpits or tell him to go and never darken your bathtub again. The choice is up to you.

You can let him continue to write his morbid little messages to you on your steamed-up mirror or ask yourself: "Who needs My-Own-Death leaving the cap off the toothpaste tube? Who needs him using up all the hot water and dulling my razor blades?" You have a right to privacy in your own privy. You shouldn't have to share your bathroom with Your-Own-Death or with anybody else. Is that any way to live? Is that any way to start your day? Chances are your answers can be summed up in a few words: No.

You must begin at once to recover your own bathroom from Your-Own-Death. Either that, or face going through life unshaven and unclipped because he simply will not go out and buy his own stuff.

It comes down to this: One toothbrush for two people is, well, disgusting. One of you will end up with bad breath and it won't be Your-Own-Death—it'll be *you*.

An IQ of your own

IQ isn't everything. If you don't have one, and it doesn't bother you, my advice is to do your thing without it. No one will ever notice. There are high officials in government, church, and university without one: they get along. On the other hand, if not having one bothers you, there are ways to get one. Here are several.

- Read and ponder this essay carefully. Find a pond where the frogs are quiet and go to work on it. Read out loud to them when you get bogged down.
- Go to a brain masseur. He will painlessly decap your skull, insinuate soft fingers into your fissures, and wake up your cerebral cortez. There's a smart Spaniard down deep in all of us.
- Join a think tank. Join it to what? A think tank is no good without run-off pipes. Any idiot knows that. Also that pipes that run off are irresponsible.
- Cultivate Learning. He goes to all the cocktail parties and is very approachable. Go up to him and say, "Hi, WD." You might mention my name.
- Concentrate. If orange juice can do it, so can you.
- Don't be an intellectual snob. Be humble about your stupidity and non-existent IQ. Remember that Pride Precedeth a Fall. Another name for it is a Summer.
- Goj. This is what helps backward marathoners go to the front of the world-class runners.
- Stay away from nervous breakdowns (also termed NBDs). The way you can tell they are nervous is they chain-smoke and hang out in maternity-ward waiting rooms. NBDs lower your resistance to neutron bombs and earthquakes. They also cause sleeping sickness in tsetse flies.

Just remember that being unhappy makes you sad, forlorn, and dyspeptic. And having an IQ won't help. I mean, suppose you solve the cube root of banana plants—what have you got? Bananas that go people, I shouldn't wonder.

Choosing how you feel

Now that I've proved to you that being unhappy will only make you sad, I want to show you that choosing the way you feel is all a matter of choice. I will do this by means of logic.

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SYLLOGISM

Major Premise: Firemen wear red suspenders to hold up their pants.
Minor Premise: Holding people up is against the law.
Conclusion: Red suspenders belong in jail along with the other criminals.

Aristotle invented the syllogism. Without it, obviously, we would be defenseless against criminals. Probably firemen would be out of work, too. It's hard, not to say embarrassing, to fight fires with your pants always falling down.

Now doesn't that make you feel good about Aristotle? Logic will do that every time, *if you let it work in your life.*

Learning not to be sad

Thinking is very thought-provoking. This is bad. A thought can be very nasty when provoked. It can sink its teeth into you and require the services of a dentist to pull them out. Now, nobody except a Hittite likes going to the dentist. A recent nationwide poll put it below eating sandy frankfurters at the beach and having commerce with finks. The mere sight of a drill with the command to open wide has been known to make over 83 per cent of the toughest drill sergeants in the country impotent for three weeks. This all comes from provoking thoughts. The fear of dentists is *acquired*: acquire a dentist and you acquire fear of dentists. Yet dentists, too, like thoughts, are only fearsome when provoked. You can provoke a dentist in two ways: being late for appointments and slow paying his bill. Only then will a self-respecting dentist deliberately zap an unanaesthetized nerve with his high-speed drill and drive you straight into the ceiling tiles.

All this shows clearly that anyone can learn not to be unhappy. Don't provoke thoughts and they won't provoke you. The same goes for dentists. The choice is always up to you.

Avoiding immobilization

Immobilization is no fun. If you are immobilized, it's a sign that you are going nowhere. There are several ways to get immobilized if you are disposed to test my analysis for yourself. One way is anger. Get angry at your car for some imagined insult and peevishly let all the air out of the tires. What have you accomplished? Immobilization. Start being envious of your skateboard and throw it under a truck in a snit. What have you achieved? Again, immobilization. Get rid of immobilization and you get rid of standing still while the whole world goes by you in a Mercedes with the top down.

Here is a brief checklist of some instances where immobilization has set in. You are immobilized when:

- You sew up your mouth to keep from proposing to the ardent fat girl with oil on her property.
- You have nailed your shoes to the floor and then put them on in order to run for a bus which will carry you to your date with the IRS auditor.
- You can sleep because you are counting sheep and your hand computer has dead batteries.
- Your face is itchy but you can't scratch yourself because you are at an auction.
- You want to give yourself totally to this beautiful person, but you are not deductible.
- You want to go on a reducing diet, but you can't find one in your cookbook.
- You want to give your body to science when you die, but so far only the Goodwill Industries has accepted.

There it is. You can be a 97-pound weakling and let immobilization kick cement in your face or you can take charge of your charge card—*you* must decide.

III. You Don't Need Them, Genghis

"Anyone who hates Florence Nightingale can't be all bad."
—Genghis Khan

YOU WANT to have a nice life with a healthy mix of fun and conquest but are always going about it in the wrong way. You don't need anybody's approval, Genghis. You certainly don't need it from people who don't know enough to come in out of a reign of terror.

Only by trusting yourself can you make people sit up and take notice of your superb qualities of horsemanship, gluttony, wasting everything in sight, and being the Compleat Barbarian. Oh, there are always those who will tsk-tsk you for your table manners or for ordering everybody in a captured city to be beheaded, but you must learn to trust your own judgment.

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Of course, it's very gratifying to have approval, but when you start to *need* it, there goes the Great Mongolian Conquest right down the drain. Suppose you go to the mayor of a town you have seized and ask his approval to burn it to the ground, ravage all the women, slaughter all the males above the age of three days, and reduce him to garbage collector—and he withholds his approval. It then becomes easy for you to feel guilty about your intentions and to say to yourself, "I'm not up to this trip. I think I'll become a rug dealer in Samarkand instead, where I can't get hurt by people who lay their disapproval on me to conform to *their* ways of doing everything."

I'm not saying it'll be easy to go your own way, to be your own scourge. Especially when your culture does everything it can to turn you into a teacher's pet and a yogurt salesman: "Tell your prayer beads, Genghis; eat your curds and whey with your fingers, not your riding stick; don't stab your playmate just to see him spurt. Do this; don't do that."

Remember the time you wet your pants because teacher wouldn't give you permission to leave the tent? You asserted yourself. But they insisted you get their approval, taught you to *need* it, and almost ruined you as a future Terror of the Caucasus. Lucky for you your father saw what was happening to you, stepped in, and had all your teachers disemboweled. And when the superintendent of schools in Karakorum tried to make your pop feel guilty about academic freedom, he got fired—literally.

There's guilt at the top of the steppes. Take the elevator

Take a look at the world, Genghis. What you see out there is Civilization, which is just another name for approval-seeking. This is no secret. Scholars have known it for centuries, psychologists even longer. Civilization is a place where at least 50 per cent of the people are not going to approve of what you do to them. You'll come riding into town with two hundred thousand Mongols bent on mayhem, and inevitably that 50 per cent will try to put you down. You will simply have to arm yourself with that knowledge and, instead of being hurt, instantly shift your thinking to that other 50 per cent who will applaud you and invite you and your wife to the club for dinner, or to a cookout in the back yard after some enthralling home movies taken by the mailman without a light meter. This may drop down to 44 per cent when you start cutting the town to ribbons, but don't let this disturb you. The thing you have to realize is that people can perfectly easily disapprove of the idea of a slaughter without disapproving of you personally.

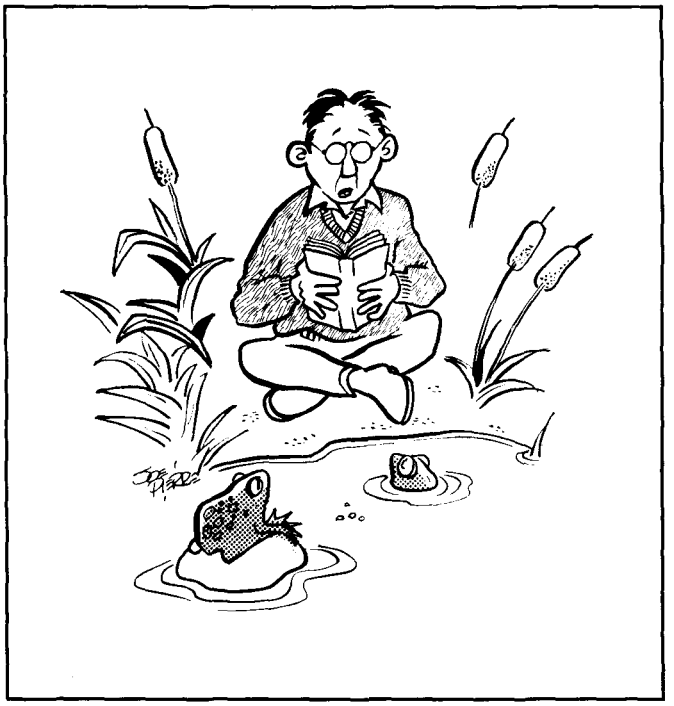
You have your opinion; other people have theirs. It takes all kinds to make a good massacre. As Homer said, "It all depends on whose ox is being gored." Which translates out to this: Civilization is the pot of guilt at the ragged end of the rainbow of approval-seeking. Abraham Lincoln said pretty much the same thing to his Secretary of Agriculture but the idiot forgot to write it down.

Hunting the wild approval-seeker

You can find approval-seeking anywhere: in your tent, at the butcher's, on the polo field, down at the office, etc. The only place you won't find any is in the cemetery. Have you ever asked why? It is because dead men don't tell approval-seeking tales; they don't look at you with reproving eyeballs and say, "Aha! Guilty, guilty." Let us now look at some of the more neurotic kinds of approval-seeking activities that you went in for, Genghis, in the coarse of your day:

- Letting your horse kick you in the slats because you felt guilty about not calling him on Fodder's Day.
- Slaughtering everybody in a city you conquered so you don't have to send out a bunch of get-well cards.
- Marrying five hundred wives so nobody can ever accuse you of being a bachelor.
- Hiding your true feelings about your share of the loot for fear that taking all of it won't leave enough for the other pillagers.
- Eating a vegetarian diet merely because the chuck-wagon people are into health foods and keep laying their "oughts" on you.
- Pretending you know calculus and Old Norse linguistics so people will point to you and say, "There goes a Barbarian with the smarts."

Obviously, Genghis, the list can go on forever. I am not getting into trying to win *your* approval. That would be absurd; after all, *I'm* the analyst and you're the Barbarian. Just pay your bill and everything will be peachy. And if that enrages you, that's par for the Caucasus. □



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The Right Tax Cuts

The Lawmakers

M. STANTON EVANS

IN THE WAKE of the Jarvis-Gann upheaval last year in California, efforts to limit state and local spending surfaced in numerous jurisdictions around the nation.

Among the best-conceived of these proposals—and one of the more notable successes—was the so-called "Headlee amendment" adopted in the state of Michigan. This approach was especially significant because it focused, not on a specific tax, but on the aggregate burden imposed by state and local government, and it limited this total to roughly 9.5 per cent of personal income. This aggregate limitation is the key provision, since it prevents off-loading the spending burdens from local to state government (or the reverse), or cutting back on taxes of one sort to jack up taxes of another.

The triumph of the Headlee proposal, and of similar measures in Arizona, Hawaii, and Texas, brought to fruition a process begun six years ago, also in California, when Governor Ronald Reagan offered the voters of that state a constitutional lid on taxes known as Proposition #1. Thanks to a last-minute blitz by spending forces, the proposal lost, but it set in motion a chain of events that promises eventual victory. At latest count, some two dozen states were considering similar limitations, and last fall's successes, with the resultant publicity, will doubtless cause still others to follow suit.

Limiting state and local taxes, however, is only half the battle, if that. Such proposals will shut off two of the spigots through which our money has been gushing to oblivion; but a third, and considerably larger, spigot remains in Washington, D.C., and until this is somehow controlled the major problem afflicting American taxpayers will remain. This is a fact of which the tax-limitation forces are acutely conscious, and they have been hard at work in recent months to evolve a formula for dealing with it. Based on their experience in the several states, they are now preparing to do battle for a federal tax-and-spending limitation.

One version of this idea was introduced last year by Representative Philip Crane (R., Ill.), then chairman of the American Conservative Union, and Senator James McClure (R., Idaho); it was re-introduced at the beginning of the current session (HJR-103 and SJR-9). The Crane-McClure amendment would limit federal spending to one-third of the national *income* (a lower base than Gross National Product), as determined by averaging this figure out for the three preceding calendar years. According to calculations released by the ACU, this would have automatically cut the federal spending totals in 1977-78 by a sum of $22.8 billion.

NOW A MORE complex amendment has been produced by the National Tax Limitation Committee (NTLC), originator of the constitutional-lid idea and principal organization working in its behalf at state and local levels. Meeting in Washington at the end of January to unveil this new proposal were such tax-limiting luminaries as Milton Friedman, C. Lowell Harriss, William Niskanen, Professor Walter Williams, businessman Richard Headlee (for whom the Michigan amendment was named), and NTLC leaders William Rickenbacker and Lewis K. Uhler. The amendment they have devised would not only limit federal spending as a share of national output but would actually roll it back over a span of years, as well as create needed barriers against inflation. (A concept that has broad support, as witness the February 1 announcement of liberal Republican Senator John Heinz of Pennsylvania that he will introduce a version of the amendment in the Upper Chamber.)

The NTLC draft amendment has half a dozen interlocking parts. First and foremost, it would limit the percentage growth of federal spending in any fiscal year to the percentage growth of the GNP in the calendar year ending before the start of the fiscal year. If inflation as defined in the proposal exceeds 3 per cent, the rate at which the federal budget can expand will be decreased by one-quarter of the excess over 3 per cent. In other words, the greater the inflation rate, the lower the rate of real growth permitted to the government.

In addition to this built-in incentive against inflation, the amendment specifies that any revenues collected above the limit thus established will be used to reduce the national debt. Safeguards against off-loading burdens onto the states are written in, through provisions that grants to state and local governments cannot be reduced as a percentage of total federal outlays for six years, and that any reductions after that will bring a similar reduction in the federal budget. Also, the Federal Government is specifically forbidden to mandate performance of functions by state and local governments without provision of revenue to fulfill such obligations. Finally, the amendment contains provisions permitting a vote by two-thirds of both Houses to exceed the limits in any given year, plus another provision permitting a vote of three-fourths of both Houses and a majority of the states to change the limits on a permanent basis.

The net result of these provisions, over a span of years, would be to shrink the percentage of GNP consumed by the Federal Government, to bring the budget into balance, and to ease inflationary pressures on the economy. For instance, NTLC data show that, if this proposal had been in effect in the decade 1969-78, the Feds' cut would have dropped from 20.4 to 17.9 per cent of GNP (instead of going up to 22.6 per cent, as was actually the case), and the cumulative deficit of $271 billion for this period would have turned into a net surplus of $22.2 billion. All in all, an ingenious proposal that would actually reverse the momentum of federal growth as a percentage of the national product. □

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The Right And the Righter

AN AMERICAN PUBLISHER has recently reprinted the works of Adam Smith and Alexis de Tocqueville, advertising them as "Classics of Conservatism." Ludwig von Mises and others from the Austrian School of economics are considered in America to be "conservatives." This labeling makes sense to American intellectuals, because in the United States traditionalists and libertarians co-exist, though not without some tension, under the general heading, "conservatives." The common enemy—socialism and the provider state—gives the focus for unity.

Nevertheless, a European unfamiliar with American intellectual history would be stunned by this taxonomy. In Europe, conservatism is not libertarianism. Conservatives here, since the French Revolution and the *Philosophes*, have been more or less the supporters of the memories and values (the reality having long since disappeared) of the Ancien Régime; they have stood athwart history, yelling "Stop." In the past, the landed gentry and their peasant dependents—with their fixed lives and assets—despised the mercurial manufacturers and bankers. The conservative forces were headed by the monarchy, in uneasy alliance with the aristocracy, the rural interests, and the clergy; they opposed the burgher class of liberal merchants, who gradually increased their power under the intellectual label of the "Enlightenment." Socialism was, until the middle of the twentieth century, only a weak third party to the liberal-conservative battle. In short, there has always been an anti-capitalist strain in European (excluding British) conservatism, which is understandable in historical and socio-political terms.

There are also the tensions between capitalism and Catholicism. Usury was a sin in the Catholic Middle Ages, and Christ, after all, chased the money-changers from the Temple. Thomas Aquinas, influenced by Aristotle, considered merchants perpetual sinners (see Book II of *De Regimine Principium*). A wonderful irony is that capitalism was born in Catholic northern Italy. (A Franciscan actually invented double-entry bookkeeping!) But although there is debate among scholars over which was the cause and which the effect, capitalism demanded the rise of Protestantism before it could flourish. Soon the Catholic nations of southern Europe were surpassed in wealth by the Calvinist northwest. By the 1930s, five of the six Regents of the Banque de France were Calvinists, and the sixth was a Jew. It was not an anti-Catholic conspiracy—it was a reflection of the lack of zeal within Catholic culture for the capitalist life. At present, after the deaths of Goetz Briefs and Daniel Villey, there are few, if any, Catholics who can claim a worldwide reputation in economics.

All of which helps to explain the sometimes unthinking rejection of capitalism by conservatives, and the curious willingness among leftist Catholics to embrace a fuzzy-headed communal socialism: it is a kind of perverted monastic ideal. What else is the Soviet Union if not a huge, secular monastery, ruled by a tyrannical abbot, whose hapless inmates are subjected to the only slightly adapted monastic rules of poverty and obedience? This also explains the naïve plaint: "Why must Communism be atheist? Would not a religious Communism be a complete fulfillment of Christianity?" We know the answers.

Of course, modern conservatives are shrewd enough to reject both socialism and Communism. But their distrust for capitalism (they dislike the word "profit" for its ugly implications) betrays their lack of economic sophistication. They do not care to believe that the means of production belong, always, either to private parties or to the state, not to some amorphous "society." These conservatives have done little thinking about the alternatives. Even El Greco sold the products of his brushes and his skill "for a profit." Actually, an "entrepreneur" is merely a broker between the worker and the customer; literally the word means "bringer-between"—a middleman. But conservative aversions are deeply ingrained. I remember one heated discussion with an Austrian conservative, who resented my labeling Wilhelm Roepke a neo-liberal; Roepke, a Lutheran of deep faith, was also, in the American lexicon, a libertarian. Nonetheless, because of Roepke's faith, my conservative friend wished to co-opt him for his own ideology.

The trouble with European liberals and libertarians, on the other hand, is that they usually dislike all religion, especially the Catholic Church. Like Hobbes, they distrust any sort of intellectual absolutism; tolerance and freedom must be provided through choice. They would apply a question mark to everything; but of course men do not die for question marks. The distinction between tolerance and indifference eludes the European liberals. They know economics, but of philosophy and history they are generally ignorant; their spiritual baggage is very light indeed. As Chesterton noted, only a man who believes in absolute values can be truly tolerant.

THESE REFLECTIONS on European ideology can, *mutatis mutandis*, also be applied to America. Within the wider compass of American "conservatism," libertarians and traditionalists reside uneasily, suspiciously; sometimes there are signs of real enmity. This is especially regrettable since the beneficiary of conservative discord is the common enemy: the Left.

Faced with such a formidable common opponent, traditionalists and libertarians must *learn* from one another. I will again cite Wilhelm Roepke as a fusionist symbol: he styled himself a liberal, or neo-liberal (to my knowledge he never used the conservative label), and he valued the free market in many things; but he retained a profound sense of religious and political tradition. Roepke does have followers—but few, so lamentably few. □

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A Leap of Faith

The Illusion of Technique
By William Barrett
Anchor Press/Doubleday, 345 pp., $12.95

JANE LARKIN CRAIN

Citing freedom as "the paramount issue of our time," William Barrett begins this book—which amounts to an articulation of the essential moral, philosophical, and political dilemmas of modern man—with a quick, cogent sketch of the antithesis between B. F. Skinner and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. With Skinner as perhaps its most authoritative and notorious fan, ours has become an age obsessed and perverted by the notion of "technique," by the assumption that there is no irreducible reality to the human condition, that all experience is subject to "modification" can we but find the right recipe to achieve this or that desired end. But then there is Solzhenitsyn's Gulag, a chilling actualization of the means by which man's very real will to freedom and individuality (*pace* Skinner) must be broken before he can be molded in a new image.

When Barrett—teacher, philosopher, and author of the classic treatise on existentialism, *Irrational Man*—speaks of "technique," or "technology," he is not, of course, referring to moon shots, microwave ovens, or the SST. He speaks, rather, of a way of looking at the world in which modern man, stripped of his historical role as the hero in a dialogue with both God and nature, begins to think of that world as alien to himself, a neutral realm over which he must seek mastery. Ultimate knowledge of this realm, which in the humanistic tradition was the province of philosophy, is now regarded as the exclusive property of the scientist/technician, leaving the ordinary intelligence with little to mull over but the extent of its own limitations. (To be sure, many of our most prominent and influential academic philosophers, as voluntary handmaidens to the technocrats, have simply dismissed life as it is actually lived from the field of their speculation, writing in a non-humanistic language of matters that bear not at all on questions of meaning and value.)

As much, really, with the death of the anthropocentric spirit as with "the death of God," a vast moral and conceptual vacuum has opened up, and Barrett sees it being filled with a technological spirit bent on molding human destiny in a variety of designs. Be it embodied in the utopian fantasies of B. F. Skinner, on the one hand, or in the naked brutalities of Marxism, on the other, this spirit is, at bottom, totalitarian. The attempt to realize one or another dream of social perfection threatens with violence those human possibilities that make life worth living at all.

Although Barrett at the end of *The Illusion of Technique* re-addresses himself to the political implications of his inquiry into the nature of freedom, hi primary concerns are moral and reli gious. A preoccupation with the meta physics of freedom, from which procee philosophy's other great concerns—Go and immortality—has shaped the intel lectual history of the twentieth century Embarking on an illuminating journe through that history, Barrett takes a formative of contemporary thought th schools of analytic philosophy, existen tial phenomenology, and pragmatism focusing on, respectively, Wittgenstein Heidegger, and William James as rep resentative.

From the vantage point of his owi particular system, each of these thinker confronts, as does Barrett, that threat o meaninglessness—the suspicion that th human enterprise has no necessary poin or moment—that the new Science, in it ultimate despiritualization of nature, it undermining of religious authority, it disdain for the evidence of the senses has handed down to modern man.

But, as Barrett hopes to prove, the feeling of being "homeless in the world," however it may torment the modern imagination, can be transcended, at that moment when the overwhelming *mystery* of existence itself floods the consciousness and an escape from the "nihilism that is an epidemic of our age" presents itself. Discussing Wittgenstein's pronouncement: "*That* the world is, the mystical," Barrett goes on: "The mystery of the cosmos before which our minds stand in awe becomes one with the mystery within us by which we ethically strive; and both come together in the sense that somehow, in a way inexpressible to us, it is all meaningful." For Heidegger, too,

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Jack Chatfield *teaches American history at Trinity College in Connecticut.* . . . **John R. Coyne Jr.***'s latest book is* Fall In and Cheer. . . . **Jane Larkin Crain** *is one of neo-conservatism's leading fiction critics.* . . . **George Gilder** *is the author of* Visible Man*; he is now at work on a critique of the welfare system.* . . . **John Lukacs**, *the historian, has written many books, the most recent of which is* 1945: Year Zero. . . . **D. Keith Mano**, *novelist and cement king, operates a disco, Studio .44, in Long Island City.* . . . **Edwin M. Yoder Jr.** *is Editorial Page Editor of the* Washington Star.

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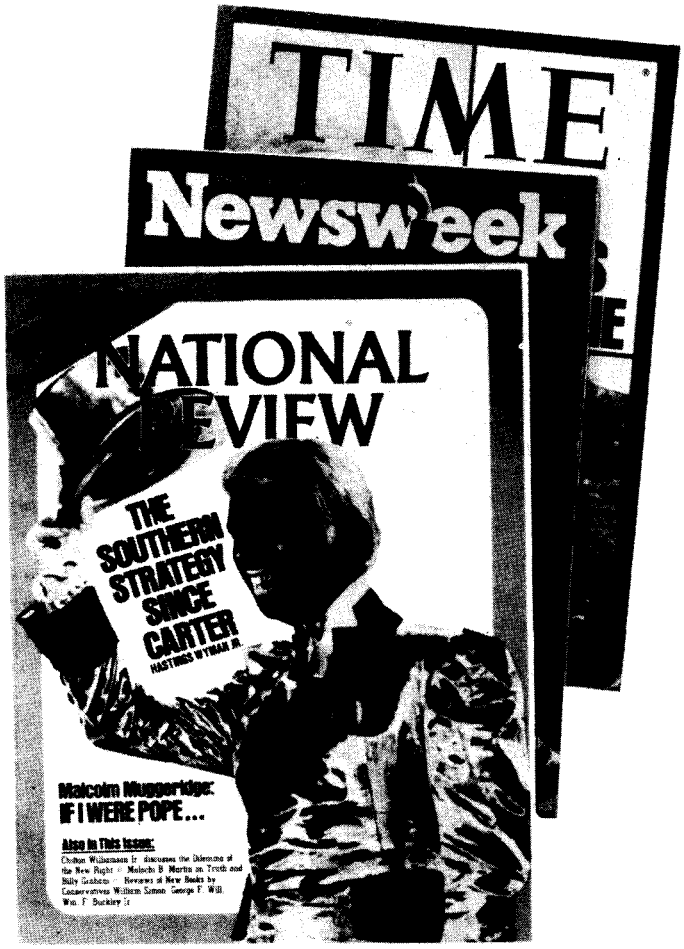
You won't find these articles in TIME or NEWSWEEK

- **What Did We Get for our Money?** David Belin (Warren Commission) looks at recent investigations of JFK and MLK Jr. assassinations
- **SALT II:** *The Awesome Implications*
  - Norman Hannah analyses the political and strategic consequences
  - Adm. Thomas Moorer (Ret.), former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, considers the military dangers
- **What's Behind Today's Car Prices and Billion Dollar Bumpers** Jack Solomon investigates
- **Living in Fear** A letter from Rhodesia
- **Tax Indexing Scores a Needed Victory** Donald Senese explains
- **UNESCO & Third World Press Censorship** by Nicholas King



But you *will* find them in coming issues of *National Review* (and *only* in *National Review*). Articles like these are important to you for this good reason –*they keep you in touch with the "other" point of view* and that's come to be a necessity for the truly informed person in these days of "homogenized" news reporting.

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the matter of freedom arises in an apprehension of Being, however stark and lonely this epiphany is for Heidegger.

With William James, Barrett's discussion seems to take on its highest energy and certainty, for in this great American moralist's writing Barrett seems to have found a stronger bulwark against the threat of quietism and "nothingness" than the tormented questings of his European philosophers can provide. In James's muscular and bracing view of things, the meaning of the world does not reveal itself in any transcendence of ordinary consciousness but, rather, in the ongoing moral dynamics of conscience and character. Finding the question of free will versus determinism logically irresolvable, James announces that one is free to *choose* to believe in free will. This is a moral choice, of course, and for James, as for Barrett, the *freedom* to will the good amounts to an imperative.

But Barrett goes on to ask (and this is among the central questions of his book), "Could we as existing individuals have the strength and courage to persist in our moral striving if we did not have a faith of some kind?"—because, for Barrett, "our moral life in the end makes sense only as an affirmation of some religious attitude toward the universe." Poised between the abyss and affirmation, both the nihilist and the religious man ask in anguish: "Why live? Why go on? What meaning does it all have?" For Barrett, at this moment of greatest doubt and desperation one can *will* the great leap of faith and believe that the Divine itself permeates nature and the human being that exists as an intrinsic part of that nature.

No deist, Barrett builds throughout the course of this rigorous and enlivening discussion to a personal statement of faith. Because he needs to do so, and even though he is without cultural or institutional support of any kind, he finds himself at moments of revelation in the presence of the Christian God. "Stagnate or be restless—that is the curse of consciousness," he tells us, but goes on to celebrate as the *ideal* state of consciousness "the peace that passes understanding," a peace that renews the will to live and uncovers the significance of human striving.

Like Augustine's *Confessions*, *The Illusion of Technique* appears to have been written in part as a discipline of the will. Although the analyses of Wittgenstein, Heidegger, and James are lucid, expansive, and fearless, ready to stare directly at all that there is in modern thought that precludes faith and hope, Barrett, finally, is a seeker after salvation. His aspiration is virtually infinite, and it strains in the private passages of his book against a gnawing dread that, ultimately, the sheer will to will anything at all can vanish, and the world, which he passionately wants to conceive of as sacred, can be revealed as a void.

In reading this book, one is reminded of the dark and brooding sensibility that informs great modern fiction. Like the heroes of Kafka, Conrad, and Beckett, the author is in the toils of a struggle that is tragic at its core, for however moving his prayer-like affirmations may be, they lack unqualified confidence. Barrett's is a thoroughly modern temperament, doomed to begin with the inescapable fact of "homelessness," hoping against hope to rebuild from the cultural ruins of religion a world worth the having. □

After Reason
By Arianna Stassinopoulos
Stein and Day, 240 pp., $10

VOX CLAMANTIS

GEORGE GILDER

Arianna Stassinopoulos is the most cocksure and charismatic conservative to burst upon our decorous little men's club since, some fifty years ago, Clare Boothe Luce made her debut at *Vanity Fair*. Still in her twenties, Miss Stassinopoulos has already preened herself as the first woman president of the Cambridge Union, issued a crushing critique of women's liberation (*The Female Woman*), emerged as an important figure on British television, composed a short history of Greece, and now written—"through all the hours of the night" and to the music of Haydn's 104 symphonies and "some of the more clamorous passages of Verdi"—a dense and dithyrambic tract on what she rather callowly calls "the total exhaustion of the spiritual substance of Western society." She is at the moment finishing up a biography of Maria Callas, a figure of comparably operatic inspiration, though less apparent charm.

All this has long seemed rather rich to certain more thin-blooded Englishmen, and her new book, *After Reason*, left the reviewer for the British *Spectator* in a condition of nearly apoplectic spite. The truth is, though, that despite her unwillingness to turn off the more clamorous Verdi, she has written a powerful and true polemic. Though it is marred by a certain disorganization and consequent redundancy, the book is full of interesting observations made in vigorous and resourceful language, supported by a wide frame of reference and quotation, and uncompromised by any deference to prevailing ideas.

Miss Stassinopoulos' central theme is quite familiar here: Western civilization suffers from an expansion of politics—driven by a rationalist or secular-humanist vision of man and society—that constricts and even at times obliterates the spiritual resonance of life.

She understands all the usual objections to a politics infused with religious fervor and faith. But she believes that many of our demonic excesses stem from the repressive atmosphere of an artificial rationality that eclipses the crucial dimensions of life, thus reducing and deflating the world—treating it as if it were flat. The failure to perceive God at the center leads to a centrifugal spiritualism, full of Gadarene frenzies, people forever falling over the edge. With Jung, whom Miss Stassinopoulos often quotes and greatly admires, she believes that mental illness is best defined as estrangement from religious reality by various forms of secular and scientistic superstition, such as Marxism, depth psychology, public opinion, hedonism, pharisaical Christianity. "The light that is in us has become darkness; and the darkness is full of horrors." The Freudian attempt to rationalize and domesticate the unconscious may merely deepen and extend the fundamental problem of an overweening rationality.

Miss Stassinopoulos understands that the healthy human mind can never be confined to the processes of rational thought—it partakes of a deeper and higher consciousness, a God at once indwelling and all-embracing, manifest in revelation and beauty: a God wor-

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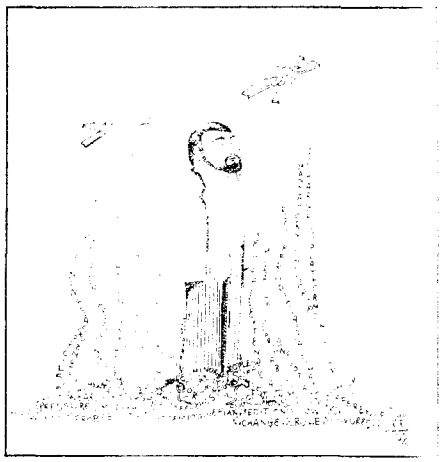

shipped by all who seek the truth whether scientists on the mystical frontiers of matter, artists in their manic epiphanies, or common men and women in joyful pursuit of their daily bread and glory. Life that is governed by a limited rationalism and by a barren materialism and sensuality is seen as being idolatrous, betrayed by an abusive elevation of means—reason, ritual, subsistence, survival, politics, church—above the ends of truth and spirit. The purpose of life is reduced to merely living or providing for life. Living, that is, becomes simply a slower form of dying.

Unfortunately, like so many present day prophets of the spirit, Miss Stassinopoulos greatly underestimates its actual presence in modern life. She readily admits her inability to articulate or define what is by nature ineffable. But somehow she thinks she can detect its absence virtually everywhere in contemporary society, particularly in modern churches.

However, not all doctrine and routine is idolatrous. The faithful observance of dogma and ritual may merely express a poetic or metaphorical reach toward the inexpressible love of God. To recite a creed is not necessarily to uphold a literal and material specification of the Divine. It may merely constitute a ceremonial effort, limited inevitably by the mortal frailties of human mind and language, to open oneself to Providence—to banish the sterile rationalisms that fill our minds with clutter and static, so that the Divine signal can reach us or well up in us, suffusing the barren words and rites with heavenly light. I believe this happens to millions of churchgoers around the world who seem to many intellectuals to be wallowing in a churchly hypocrisy. Just because there are very few persons with the gift of prophecy, one should not jump to the conclusion that there are only small numbers who are spiritually alive.

The meek shall inherit, saith the Lord. It may be that the intellectuals who dominate the media speak mostly for themselves and that God's presence is felt by many who lack the gift of tongues. Anti-church prophets of spirituality, like Arianna Stassinopoulos, Malcolm Muggeridge, and even Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, sometimes seem to have missed the paramount Christian lesson of humility. Without it, they fail to sense the fourth dimension in modern life, fail to acknowledge the spirituality, the immanent divinity, in millions of their fellow men, and therefore are in danger of propagating a flat-earth vision of their own. □

AMERICANA

The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law & Politics
By Don E. Fehrenbacher
Oxford University Press, 741 pp., $25

FIRST BLOOM OF ACTIVISM

EDWIN M. YODER JR.

It has been 115 years since Chief Justice Roger B. Taney died in Washington, unmourned, amid the great Civil War some blamed him for helping start. "The temple of the man-stealers has been rent from foundation to roof," gloated the *Chicago Tribune*, "and the ancient High Priest lies cold at the altar."

High priest of the man-stealers? The *Tribune*'s harsh allusion was to Justice Taney's astonishing decision seven years earlier in *Dred Scott* v. *Sanford*, a decision to which historians customarily assign a pivotal role in blasting the Union asunder. All future discussion of the case and its effects must now begin with Don E. Fehrenbacher's magisterial book. Mr. Fehrenbacher, who teaches at Stanford, won my admiration some years ago with a splendid little book on the early political career of Abraham Lincoln. He has renewed it here.

This study is assured the admiring attention of scholars, but it deserves a larger readership. Slaveholding in the U.S. territories, the issue in *Dred Scott*, is long settled, for what Taney ordained one March day in 1857, the blood and iron of civil war soon shattered forever. But the case remains a window on an era. It is also of continuing interest to all students of the quirkiness of human fate.

DRED SCOTT, the most famous slave in American history, was born in Virginia. Eventually, in Missouri, he was sold to an itinerant army surgeon, Dr. Emerson, who took him to various outposts in Illinois and the Wisconsin Territory. When Scott and his wife first sued for freedom, in 1846, their case seemed to be a cinch under Missouri law. Slave status, the legal theory was, could not survive residence in a free territory. This indeed was the finding of the first court: Dred Scott and his wife were free.

But between that verdict and the first appeal, circumstances freakishly contrived to make Scott's case the focus of a great and intensifying controversy over the status of territory acquired in the Mexican War. The issue was Congress' authority to regulate slaveholding in U.S. territories. When the *Dred Scott* case came before the Taney Court in Washington, after a decade, it was expected—nay, insisted—that the Court should "settle" the issue forever.

We see clearly in retrospect that this was far too much to expect of any court, even if its sectional bias had not predisposed it to a partisan conclusion. Chief Justice Taney, then nearly eighty years old, was no firebrand of slavery. But he believed that, denied its "peculiar institution," the Southern way of life was doomed. It thus fell to a jurist of fervent Southern loyalties (Mr. Fehrenbacher leaves no doubt on this oft-dispued point) to decide the case, and he wound up writing the most explosive opinion ever delivered by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Negroes, the Chief Justice argued, were not U.S. citizens and never had been or could be. Indeed (he observed in a tone of regret), at the time when the Constitution of 1787 was framed, they had been regarded generally as "beings

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RANDOM NOTES

■ More February Titles: *Defending My Enemy: American Nazis in Skokie, Illinois, and the Risks of Freedom* (Dutton, $9.95) is an attempt by Aryeh Neier, national executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, to defend an enterprise of the ACLU that cost the organization 15 per cent of its members. Neier's book may cost it another 85. . . . Carl Gardner, author of *Andrew Young* (Drake, $9.95), raises the United States' UN Ambassador to the level of the Ayatollah Khomeini, whom Mr. Young recently characterized as "a saint."

■ More March Titles: Christopher Edwards' *Crazy for God: The Nightmare of Cult Life* (Prentice-Hall, $8.95) describes his experiences as a disciple of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church and his subsequent kidnapping by Ted Patrick, the "de-programmer." Edwards says he was infantilized in the Moonie bootcamp. Let 'em eat cookies and milk. . . . Paul Moore Jr. is the Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of New York, in which capacity he has delivered Concerned sermons that sound like John Lindsay campaigning in Purgatory and has sheltered people suspected of having ties with murderous Puerto Rican liberation groups. His book is called *Take a Bishop like Me* (Harper, $8.95), but if there's a choice we'll take another.

Linda W. Wagner's *Dos Passos: Artist as American* (University of Texas, $14.95) is a critical study of the novelist and his works. . . . John Updike has a new collection of stories ready, called *Too Far to Go: The Maples Stories* (Fawcett/Crest, $2.25), concerning a couple named Maples and their progress through twenty years of marriage. . . . The title of Isaac Asimov's new *Opus 200* (Houghton Mifflin, $10.95) tells all. . . . Logan Wilson, author of *American Academics: Then and Now* (Oxford University Press, $13.95), thinks the merit system prevails in the academy, which he calls a bastion of "rationality and civility."

of an inferior order . . . and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Congress, moreover, had never had constitutional authority to restrict slavery in the territories. The territories, he argued, had not belonged to the nation formed in 1787, but were the "joint property" of the sovereign states, tendered only conditionally to the Union.

From the first proposition it followed that Dred Scott had no standing in the federal courts; from the second, that all congressional legislation in any way confining territorial slavery (even the great "compromises" of 1820 and 1850) was null and void. It was dubious history—how dubious, Mr. Fehrenbacher easily shows. And even if the history had been sounder, the degree of what we call "judicial activism" would have been no less, though of course the political arms of government had invited it by leaving the Court to settle their great quarrel for them.

The *Constitutionalist*, an Augusta, Ga. newspaper, spoke for the Southern ultras when it observed that, given Justice Taney's decision, "Southern opinion on the subject of Southern slavery . . . is now the supreme law of the land . . . and opposition to Southern opinion upon this subject is now opposition to the Constitution, and morally treasonable against the government." On the apparent meaning of Taney's judgment, if not on the *Constitutionalist*'s daring inference, the Northern antislavery ultras completely agreed.

Now, the irony of all this was that the constitutional issue was mostly illusory. Few slaves had entered the new territories of the West. Not even "bleeding Kansas," over whose status as slave or free an unseemly battle raged, counted more than two hundred slaves. The antislavery majority was sure to win out in due course. Moreover, as Stephen A. Douglas was arguing—he was bent on being President and working to avert a Democratic Party split—slavery could not flourish where local residents denied it those "police regulations" needed to hold slaves.

Why, then, did the fury over territorial slavery engulf the nation within four years? Essentially, as Mr. Fehrenbacher tells us, because the slavery quarrel, which had once been political and manageable, had become a "constitutionalized" quarrel over the American future. The Southern ultras saw their way of life as being impudently challenged; the Northern ultras saw their liberties as being besieged by a monstrous, conspiratorial "slave power." Thus Mr. Fehrenbacher's book really is a study of passion in politics and how hard it is to temper passions judicially. Roger B. Taney believed, with an intensity that lured him into historical casuistry, that right and law lay on the side of slaveholding. His personal commitment was not to slavery itself—he had manumitted his own slaves years before 1857—"but rather to Southern life and values, which seemed organically linked to the peculiar institution and unpreservable without it."

Although the focus of this masterly book is on the politics and law of the territorial question, and necessarily so, it might perhaps have explored the human dimension more thoroughly—since, after all, it is the folly and passion with which men believed and acted, more than *what* they believed, that make the dreadful uproar of the late 1850s intelligible. Mr. Fehrenbacher's book does, however, clear up a number of misconceptions (for instance, that the case was faked or contrived, or that Roger Taney really didn't mean what he wrote in the opinion, or that it's easy to trace the secessionist fever of 1861 in a straight line to the *Dred Scott* case). Many errant textbook accounts will need updating in the light of his splendid scholarship and writing. □

A Season of Youth
By Michael Kammen
Knopf, 416 pp., $15

THE LOST YOUTH OF HENRY FORD

JACK CHATFIELD

Several years ago, when I was teaching history in a secondary school, one of the brighter seniors appeared one day with a copy of *Good News for Modern Man*. She began trumpeting the colloquialized sayings of Jesus in the smoking lounge, in the hallways, in the classrooms. She was electrified by the Sermon on the Mount, by the raising of Lazarus, by the parable of the mustard seed. Over lunch one afternoon she announced that she had an especially interesting passage to read. She thoughtfully sketched in some background, then fairly shouted the climactic line: "Let him who is without sin—"

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She was stunned when I interrupted to complete the verse. "Oh," she said apologetically, "I must have read you that one already."

Though my evidence is highly impressionistic, I do not believe that this story represents an isolated phenomenon. Not every young American, to be sure, would believe that a familiar Scriptural verse would be as obscure to an adult as, say, a poem by Baudelaire. Yet, to a startling degree—and to a degree that would have been unimaginable to earlier generations—Americans live beyond the precincts of any identifiable tradition, unless it be an ill-defined "tradition" of democracy. In this vast and dynamic nation—this land of boundless enterprise, endless technological miracles, media entrepreneurship, "reformed" curricula, and a permanent and kaleidoscopic culture of the young—in this vast land without a center, a sense of the past is probably as severely attenuated as it has been in any nation since the Exodus. An historian at a reputable New England college recently asked a random group of sophomores and juniors to name the date of the Pearl Harbor attack. Fifty per cent of this admittedly small sample knew it; the others did not. One student guessed 1914; another, 1947. A reflexive knowledge of the legendary events—the founding of Jamestown, the Stamp Act, the firing on Sumter—can no longer be taken for granted in a college history course. Much of the common body of our lore has vanished like the Model-T.

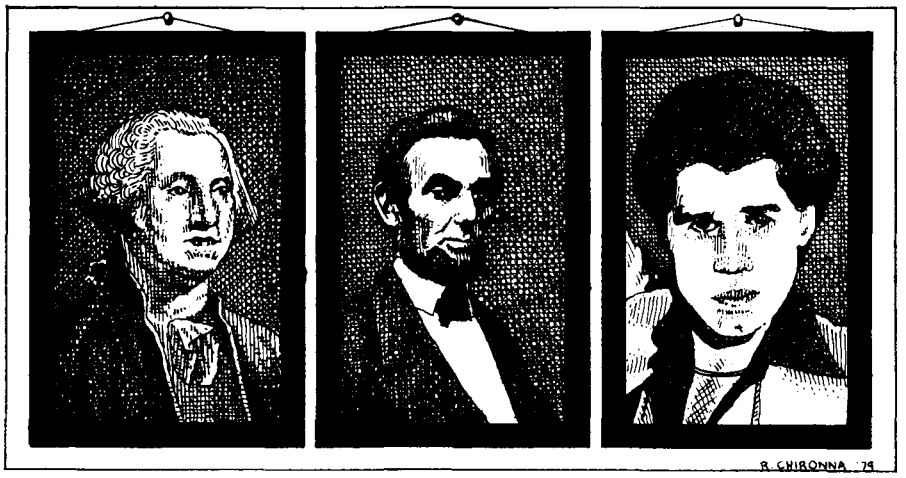
But, for all that, Americans have never believed that "history is bunk," and Henry Ford, the author of that crisp epigram, must have surprised the nation when he confessed during his libel trial in the 1920s that he had never heard of Benedict Arnold. Not to know of Cornwallis or Burgoyne—perhaps. But *Arnold*? If historical understanding, as J. Huizinga has suggested, "is like a vision, or rather like an evocation of images," certainly no event in our past has created such an abundant array of images as the American Revolution. Washington crossing the Delaware; Paul Revere's ride; the signing of the Declaration; the benign and tranquil face of Benjamin Franklin—here is certainly America's most powerful historical memory.

Michael Kammen examines this memory in *A Season of Youth*. Avoiding the historians, he focuses upon the poets, the sculptors, the painters, and especially the novelists. For it has been the novelists—from Fenimore Cooper to Gore Vidal and John Jakes—whose works, says Kammen, have "undoubtedly been the single most important source of information about, and awareness of, the American Revolution."

KAMMEN HAS identified three "peaks" of production of the Revolutionary novel: the 1820s and '30s, the turn of the twentieth century, and the decades of the 1930s and '40s. There are reasons, he suggests, why these periods gave rise to a rich crop of fiction set in the Revolutionary epoch. The early period was one of literary nationalism and the passing of the last of the Revolutionary generation; the middle period was one of historical—and genealogical—nostalgia; the later period was one of profound crisis, which produced the inevitable reassessment of national character. In each of these three literary epochs—and in a fourth, which can best be described as a monstrous amalgam of Watergate and the Bicentennial—he finds an abiding preoccupation with Loyalism and the War of Independence as a civil conflict. More importantly, he finds a theme which is so persistent as to be a veritable obsession: the Revolution understood as a "national *rite de passage*," the "separation and return" that marks the nation's coming of age.

A Season of Youth contains much acute analysis and is a storehouse of information. Like many storehouses, however, it preserves its merchandise by being kept very dry. It seems to me that Kammen tries to do too much, that he often substitutes inventory for critical exploration, and that he is plagued by unsolved problems of order. He has a positive mania for making lists and for lining up quotes from various novels to illustrate a point. How much more sensible it would have been to devote a chapter to the Revolutionary novels of S. Weir Mitchell or William Gilmore Simms!

Some of Kammen's categorical judgments are questionable. Is 1832 the end of an era just because the last signer of the Declaration (Charles Carroll) died in that year? Was America's devotion to "liberty" supplanted by a vision of "prosperity" in the decades before the Civil War? Doesn't the cold war belong on a list of reasons why Americans in the period after the Second World War experienced a renewal of interest in America's origins? And what are we to make of Kammen's judgment, delivered almost as an afterthought, that "the net effect" of Revolutionary novels—novels which he arraigns for their "elitism," their "defensive nostalgia," and their "national chauvinism"—has been to "trivialize the American Revolution"? Without a careful assembling of the evidence, these are empty words indeed.



Professor Kammen's previous works—his *People of Paradox*, *Deputyes and Libertyes*, and others—have impressed me deeply and make my disappointment over *A Season of Youth* all the more keen. Sadly, Kammen's study of America's "memory" of her Revolution is a potentially rich but flawed work by an historian of great originality and force. □

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SWELL LETTERS

Teen Angel
By Sonia Pilcer
Coward, McCann, 262 pp., $8.95

FEMALE LEWD

D. KEITH MANO

We owe the mid-twentieth century a whole lot: nuclear power, penicillin, silicone women, Water Piks. And adolescence. I mean: adolescence as myth, basic human right, growth industry, nation almost. My OED does not contain the word "teen-ager" or "teen-aged." Tom Jones grew up, but he was never noticeably teen-aged: he went from child to young man, no sociological parenthesis in between. You can't imagine Dante or Swift saying, "I had a grim adolescence." This is due, in part, to new longevity: our lives, like an over-successful sit-com, have been padded out: sequels at the center. Also due, in part, to co-education. The Country of Teen is very much a sexual place. Mating dances are first choreographed there.

In prospect, *Teen Angel*, with its *Grease*-Fonz nostalgia, didn't much enchant me, even though I was brought up just one or two IND stops from Sonia Pilcer. The West Side above 160th Street had a varied tone, chiefly lower-middle-class on down. Sonny Palovsky, her heroine, is Jewish: but Sonny's Teen Angel girl-gang people are Italian, Puerto Rican, and Irish. Sonia Pilcer clearly knows the turf: I give my imprimatur. There were apartments that took your breath away; others that made you hold it. Harlem, we felt, might get on the A-train and move uptown any day: but it didn't happen. A rough place, dangerous: yet not fatal. You always felt you could talk your way out of trouble. Washington Heights was in an adolescence: trying to create some functional persona.

Teen Angel features an effervescent, obscene verbal life. Female lewd: the post-pubic *Fear of Flying*. I have no idea what is Pilcer remembrance and what is Pilcer imagination: I left Washington Heights when I was ten and went on to have a geranium-ish adolescence, which consisted of reading Spinoza and Alfred North Whitehead at sock hops: they would bewilder me about as much as the word "fellatio" bewilders Sonny—and they weren't anywhere near as engrossing. Before that I had made a long daily commute from uptown to this special school, where my mind was forced like alfalfa in March. So I cannot judge the obsessive, original foulmouthedness of *Teen Angel* for its verisimilitude. Obsessive, maybe; original, I doubt, from what passes for creative cursing on the street today. Though, in either case, preferable to Alfred North Whitehead, who once complained because his *Encyclopaedia Britannica* did not have Moses' birthdate. No Teen Angel was ever that vulgarly dumb.

Reverence and smut are wombmates, born in close tandem. Both protect man from the terror of confronting mystery dead-on: one by ritual, one by gross burlesque. Lewdness, like a woman's period, flushes out the tension of enormous unknown Possibility: of Life. Insult-language and bitter profanation —half joyous, half fearful—are thematic in *Teen Angel*: from their strength you can gauge the strength of mystery suppressed. They are very strong; and imaginative; yet ceremonial, incantatory. In her Teen Angel initiation, the heroine will be required to bring back a male's contraceptive, complete with semen. Desperate, delightful, Sonny whips up some primal ooze: out of egg-white, flour, salt, milk, garlic, and lemon juice. So maturity is simulated from discrete indiscreet words: emblems (in logomachic reverse, God dog) for mystery not yet made organic: a bra pushed out with language.

There is wit in that: even in the lamest, most heelworn obscene joke. Self-consciousness is an awfully intensive state: and, when you haven't that much to be conscious of—breastless, periodless, virginal, ignorant—bathos and humor will break through. And that's the charm in *Teen Angel*: in all our *Grease* nostalgia. As the nation progressed past 1968, as sexual permissiveness became a woebegone conclusion, it got harder and harder to dismay one's parents—those surrogates-on-earth of mystery. But some way was found. A backseat feel or a tequila binge is less alienating than LSD or Mooniedom. Drugs erase the person; Moonies are other-conscious. Without self there can be no clarifying humor.

Teen Angel is a limited narrative: intentionally so. Fear and isolation and innocence are space-maintained. Its third-person voice—if not that of the protagonist—is that of an exact contemporary. Sonia Pilcer, consistent with her ground rules, will not introduce retrospective experience to judge. At last, when Sonny, through compassion, has moved one disconcerting half-yard nearer adulthood, that voice is still lewd-protective: will again use scatological language for insulation against mystery and sentiment: "As she walked up the stairs to Mrs. King's class, her brain whooshed like some thought that was grown-up, and spooky too, had taken a leak in it." Sonia Pilcer can write. From here on—and I imagine she knows this her lens's iris will have to open out. The next novel interests me already. □

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Jack's Book: An Oral Biography of Jack Kerouac
By Barry Gifford and Lawrence Lee
St. Martin's, 339 pp., $10.95

AND THE BEATS GO ON

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

What did the Beats leave us? Among other things, Jimmy Carter.

Try it this way. Down through the Fifties, there were two currents building toward the torrent of instability that nearly swamped us in the Sixties. One was social and cultural, the other political. It all began to take shape in 1957, the year of Little Rock, and the year in which Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* was finally published.

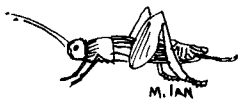
With the publication of *On the Road*, it became official: the Beats were a Movement. And after Little Rock, so was Civil Rights. The Beats fathered the Hippies, just as the Civil Rights Movement parented the Free Speech Movement. The legitimate offspring of the Hippies were the Street People; the natural sons of the Free Speech Movement were the New Leftists, who swam in the social and cultural milieu provided by the Street People.

Then came the great unifying and radicalizing events of the late Sixties, and it was all one. The result was Nixon-Agnew, which gave us Scandal. And Scandal gave us Jimmy Carter (who just may give us Jerry Brown).

BUT ENOUGH of that, and back to the beginning, which was Kerouac and his friends, the subject of this generally splendid book of talk. It is, a series of reminiscences, spliced together with editorial bridges, by the crew that ran with Kerouac—including Gary Snyder, Allen Ginsburg, John Clellon Holmes, and, best and most interesting of all, Carolyn Cassady, widow of Neal Cassady, the con-man and Dionysiac who played Pythias to Kerouac's Damon.

The book's problems lie in the editorial bridges. The authors assert that Kerouac was a great writer, but don't show it. Much of the background material had already been plowed by Ann Charters in *Kerouac*, listed in the bibliography but nowhere acknowledged in the text. There are failures of interpretation—the inability, for instance, to offer a satisfactory explanation of Kerouac's swing to NATIONAL REVIEW conservatism in the late Sixties. And there is at least one glaring error of fact: Kerouac did not meet William F. Buckley Jr. at Columbia in the Forties, as the authors maintain. Buckley wasn't there to be met.

But those are quibbles, and what is important here is the talk, the kind of talk we hear no longer and may never hear again. If you were up around Columbia in the Fifties, as I was, or if you were in places like San Francisco—or, for that matter, Fairbanks—you know what I mean. Everyone was reading and everyone was writing or talking about writing. Now the talk in the rooms and the bars is about women and football and politics. In the Fifties, the talk was about women and football and writing.



It was the end of one literary era. Faulkner and Hemingway were alive and writing, and Fitzgerald's presence was still luminous. We all had our Lady Bretts and Zeldas, we yearned for the taste of absinthe, drinking oneself to death seemed the only way to travel, and the most poignant sentence in the world was the one with which Hemingway ended *The Sun Also Rises*: "Isn't it pretty to think so."

Then along came Kerouac and his crew, we had our own literary movement, and everyone was off writing son of *On the Road* or daughter of *Howl*. Sure, most of it was bad stuff, usually embarrassingly so. But it was ours, and, most important of all, it reflected that absolute Arnoldian-Trillingesque belief in the inseparability of literature and life.

And, in the end, that is where our real fascination with Kerouac and his friends lies: not so much in the literature itself, but rather in what they were doing with that literature: they were creating their lives as they went along.

To be sure, they were not by most accepted standards admirable lives. And the drive, especially in Kerouac's own case, was directly toward self-destruction. But then writers are not generally noted for their stability: show me a stable writer and nine times out of ten I'll show you a hack. And face it: as much as it may gall us to grant it, writers require a special dispensation. As one of Gary Snyder's sections of *Jack's Book* puts it: "The creative genius sort of thing will be irresponsible and can't be held to the same rules that other people are held to, and they're hell on their wives." Just so.

Was Kerouac, taken only as a writer, one of the important ones? I don't know, and this book doesn't tell me. But his life was an important one, and this book tells me that. And since his literature was his life, both figuratively and literally, his literature is important.

But my judgment is no doubt suspect here. During the several years I spent up around the West End bar, Kerouac was one of my idols. And then, a decade later, just before he died, when I was doing feature pieces on the New Left for NATIONAL REVIEW, he wrote me a fan letter.

And so to hell with it. If you're interested in listening to what the talk of the Fifties sounded like, and if you believe that literature may just have something to do with life, then read this book. I've read it a couple of times now, the nostalgia is intense, and my alcoholic intake has risen alarmingly. But perhaps that's because, like Carter and many of the rest of us, at heart I'm just a Son of the Beats. □

PLACES

THE CONTINENTAL EXPRESS

JOHN LUKACS

My library is spacious and well arranged, but I have the same problem that less fortunate people have, which is that certain books are constantly on the move. It is not enough for them to stand on a convenient shelf, within easy sight or reach; they tend to preempt an otherwise useful corner of an already overburdened table, ready to be picked up at the most random of times.

Books that qualify for such a privileged, though precarious, existence are either those whose contents give one instant poetic pleasure or those that are

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repositories of practical information. There is only one book which, for me, combines these two attributes in a miraculous way. It is a book printed on cheap paper, orangey and paperbound, costing about five dollars in the U.S. and less than half of that in England; three-fourths of each of its pages is covered by broken columns of numbers consisting of three or four digits; and a variorum edition is published each month of the year. It is called *Cook's Continental Timetable*, and it is one of the greatest book bargains in the world.

I open it, and the *frisson* is instantaneous and deep, independent of atmosphere or mood, whether on flannel-dark December evenings or sun-shot mornings in June. I fling open a page filled with serried ranks of numbers separated by lines and vertical arrows. On the side panels going downward I read the most brilliant, the most evocative, the most inspirational sequences of place-names: Orange, Montélimar, Valence, St. Rambert, Vienne, Lyon; *or* Piacenza, Fidenza, Parma, Reggio Emilia, Modena; *or* Gloucester Eastgate, Bristol Temple Meads, Weston-super-Mare, Taunton, Exeter, St. Davids, Dawlish, Newton Abbot, Torquay, Paignton, Plymouth, Penzance.

The numbers clatter with the fast rhythm of a forest-green train, the arrows interrupting this rhythm for a trice as it shoots across a switch. The train flashes through the station, there is a rush of geraniums in the station-master's windows, and of the rusticated brick of the building as it disappears and the blue mountains come into view again; after the precise steel tinkle of the station bell one hears the toneless bell of a village church. The speed had blurred the sign over the platform, but we flash past a sun-baked signal post: *St-Jean-de-Maurienne*. Or maybe it is snowing.

During the last twenty years European trains achieved something of an inspirational reputation for American tourists, like Parisian *chapeaux* two generations ago, something that no one would have believed as late as, say, 1950, when, except for the *Orient Express* and the *Train Bleu*, the magical names of trains were all American ones, *The Chief*, *El Capitan*, *The Twentieth Century Limited*. The tables have turned, but this is not the point.

The practical point is that if you want to go by rail—or if you want to sail—anywhere in Europe (or in Russia, the Near East, the Far East) *Cook's Continental Timetable* is a must. Most American travel agents do not have much European rail information. It is possible to obtain—not without difficulty—the timetables of certain European national railroads, in the front of which the principal international trains originating in their country are listed; but that's about all.

Cook's Continental Timetable lists *all* the principal, and most of the local, trains within every European country, plus those in the USSR, China, the Near East, Turkey, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco (and it also gives a bland seven-page summary of what Amtrak offers). It contains a number of detailed tables that may be available elsewhere—currency tables, temperature and rainfall figures, passport and visa regulations for all countries. It also contains a vast amount of information *not* available elsewhere: a complete list of trains with sleeping-cars (of which one exists in the U.S., while hundreds exist in Europe, largely unknown to Americans); maps of all principal cities with their railroad stations; and the timetables and compositions of all international expresses, and of all the ships plying the English Channel, the North Sea, the Baltic, the Norwegian coastal route, the Rhine, the Danube, the Göta Canal, the Swiss and the Italian lakes, and the Greek islands, and of the burgeoning network of shipping lines, including car ferries, across the Mediterranean, serving the Near East and North Africa as well.

For the sake of travel agents, *Cook's Continental Timetable* is issued every month, listing every variation in the timetables or regulations. For the common traveler, though, a copy ought to be good for two or three years, since most European timetables change little, and the variations are minimal. However, my admiration for the editors is enhanced by reading the insert for variations. It contains such items as: "The new morning fast trains between Bergen and Oslo have been given names, as shown in Table 481. The eastbound train is named *Henrik*, the westbound train is named *Pernille*." "On April 14 and 15, passengers wishing to join the 11.45 Newhaven-Dieppe ship at Newhaven will require an embarkation ticket—see Table 51. This will not apply to passengers arriving by boat-train from London." "The *Varna Express* (Warsaw & Cracow-Varna and v.v.), which has previously run through the USSR without advertised passenger stops, now includes a stop at Lvov and includes a through car—see Table 84. This car will run until September 1."

The common traveler should be able to master the use of *Cook's Continental Timetable* in about ten minutes. To read a continental timetable is twice as easy as to read an American one, and five times easier than to read a red *Guide Michelin*. Anyone who wishes to travel by rail within Europe and, say, buys a Eurailpass for this purpose without attempting to get hold of *Cook's Continental Timetable* knows not what he is missing.

THE ENGLISH, with their numerous private railways, produced a unified national rail timetable during the nineteenth century, the famous *Bradshaw's*, whose name is known to readers of Sherlock Holmes and of other examples of Victorian and Edwardian literature. Bradshaw published a guide to Continental railways as early as 1847; this eventually grew to encyclopedic proportions. In 1873 a Cook's employee, John Bredall, convinced the Cook family to issue a small, condensed continental timetable. It was printed by Cook's themselves on their premises in London at 107 Fleet Street, which they shared during that period with Professor and Mrs. Fowler's Phrenological Consulting Rooms.

The *Continental Timetable* grew rapidly, doubling its size every twenty years. The early editions have a charm of their own (they included the timetables of stagecoaches in Switzerland, before the latter became the electric-train country *par excellence*). Starting in 1883 *Cook's Continental Timetable* was published each month. Before the Second World War it adopted the sensible international timetable symbols (the little wine-glass for buffet service,

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the crossed knife-and-fork indicating the dining car, the made-up bed for the sleeping-car, the flat couch for the couchette, the little house for the frontier station, etc.). After the Second World War *Cook's*, like the British and American Armies, adopted the system of the 24-hour clock (23.11 instead of 11.11 P.M.). Since 1976 it has given distances in kilometers instead of miles. In spite of the proliferation of air travel it is selling better than ever; it is reported to be doing splendidly in Japan.

READ THE *Nord Express*: Paris to Copenhagen via Namur, Liège, Cologne, Münster, Osnabrück, Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, and the Rodby ferry: a route that cuts through the history of Europe, with rich nineteenth century, seventeenth century, Hanseatic associations. But it is the *when* that gives life to the *where*; these names of towns are but a list without the magical evocation of their hours. The click of recognition springs into the mind through the punctuation of the timetable. Paris Nord 18.09 (it is raining, the evening lights have come on, the cabs crowd and congregate under the tower of the Gare du Nord, across from which the awnings with their beer signs glisten and darken. The train glides out of the station, there is that unique sense of excitement and comfort as it gathers speed and screeches past the yellow-lit windows of the dark apartment houses). Namur 20.12 the iron shapes, the slag-heaps of the Belgian night, the rain streaking at an angle against the windows of the dining car). Aachen 21.44, Köln 22.32 (the steel swords of the Rhine bridges slashing across the dark). Münster 1.22, Osnabruck 0.41 (the empty, echoing long platforms, the arclights in the cold German midnight hour; one pulls the shade down). Bremen 3.00, Hamburg 3.32, Lübeck 4.07 (the half-frozen shape of the great harbor factories the broad-hipped towns breathing in the last hour of the night). Rodby 6.50 (the wisp of the grey dawn, the tacturn dunes of Denmark, the soughing of the sea. Two hours later the ferry clanks into the harbor, awash with the morning light. The red tiles on the houses, the ozone odor of the electric wires, the glass cupola of the main station. A beautiful Frenchwoman combs her blonde mane in the corridor). Copenhagen 9.19. The *Nord Express*.

And where else can one read about the *Pushkin/Athens Express*, departing from the Kiev Station in Moscow at 15.15 on a dark and snowy December afternoon, running past the stubbled fields of the Ukraine during the night and during the better part of the next day, pulling into Budapest that midnight, with the lights of her European-style boulevards scintillating behind the smoky glass dome of the East Station; and after a tiring sunny morning across Thessaly, arriving in Athens—warm and blue, smelling of olive oil, anise, and the near sea. (Accommodations include hard and soft coaches, and a first-class Russian *wagons-lits* sleeper.)

The *Blue Gentian* is an express from Hamburg to Carinthia; the *Edelweiss* a super-train from Brussels to Zurich, cutting across all of Alsace during the afternoon; the *Espresso del Levante* runs from Milan to Brindisi; *L'Arbalète* from Paris to Zurich. There are three expresses named *Aurora*, a Russian, an Italian, and a Yugoslavian one; one of the super-trains from Paris to Marseille is named *Le Phocéen*, the other is *Le Rhodanien*. The *Transmaghreb* clatters across the North African night from Algiers to Tunis (couchettes and an Algerian dining car). Oh, *Amtrak*, with your ugly Russian spelling; or *Conrail*, which sounds like a task force made up by the Nixon Administration!

The *Mirabell* runs through the Vienna Woods, on its way to Salzburg. Evening has come; the train speeds past the emptying platforms, a bright streak flashing by, until it is swallowed up by the darkness. The light of evening: *Mirabell*. I am standing in my library, great windows open to the south. Armchair traveler my foot. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO GARP, *by John Irving (Dutton, 437 pp., $10.95; paper, $2.75). The World According to Garp* is the work of an extravagant imagination. It is also richly comic, its dialogue and scenes sometimes filled with a riotous energy worthy of the Marx Brothers. Yet for all its comic affection (and Irving does *care* about his characters), *The World According to Garp* is no slapstick celebration. Irving's special gift is narration, not style; the story moves along captivatingly despite some unremarkable language. T. S. Garp is the son of a compassionate nurse and a terminally ill tail-gunner. Garp's mother, Jenny Fields, writes a book which makes her a feminist heroine, a kind of Betty Friedan in white. Garp has trouble all his life dealing with feminists, and Irving plumbs the paradoxes of feminism for some hilarious satire (for example, one of Jenny's adorers is Roberta, *née* Robert, a huge transsexual who was once a tight end for the Philadelphia Eagles). Garp is also a writer—who marries, sires and loves his children, endures great and inexplicable violence, cooks marvelous spaghetti sauce, and dies. The world according to Irving is comic, but not very funny; it is existentialism with a smile. Tenuous happiness exists with extreme and random pain. "In the world according to Garp," Irving writes, "we are all terminal cases."

MARK STEVENS

FINAL PAYMENTS, *by Mary Gordon (Random House, 298 pp., $8.95; Ballantine paperback, $2.50)*. There are many reasons to like this novel—its disciplined, intelligent prose, its strong characterizations of women, its shrewd insights into Catholicism. But the main reason to like it is simply for its unmodern idea. Mary Gordon considers here as a major theme the notion of an individual's responsibility to others, and she does it without writing a Sunday sermonette, or a bleeding treatise worthy of Beatrice Webb. Isabel Moore is thirty years old. For the last 11 years she has been caring for her father, a helpless invalid cut off from any sort of active life by a stroke. Now—finally—he has died, and Isabel must invent a new life, though of course she can never completely escape the past. Miss Gordon understands the ambiguities of caring, of filial love. She knows the motives are often selfish, or worse. Isabel, a saint to all in her Catholic community, is troubled by that very sainthood. Miss Gordon writes beautifully. There are sketches of old people in this book—as Isabel accepts a job as a government social worker—which should be read two and three times for their affection and depth. Alas, Miss Gordon's male characters have none of this warmth. Isabel's first lover is a cad, with lust on the brain, while the second has all the emotional complexity of cold chicken broth. Even Isabel's father, who is at least given some emotional and intellectual substance, is too authoritarian, too temperamentally absolutist, to be lovable. But this is Mary Gordon's first novel; and it is an impressive debut.

PAUL GIGOT

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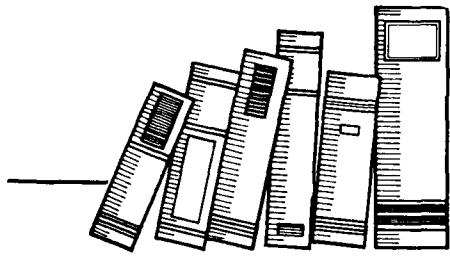

Dark Horses

FEW NAMES are more respected in the annals of modern political science than that of Leo Strauss, whose teachings from the textbooks of antiquity have raised up a numerous and influential group of followers in the American academy.

The qualities that commended Strauss to his disciples are amply displayed in *The City and Man*, originally published in hardcover by the University of Virginia and now brought out in paperback by the University of Chicago (Phoenix Books, $4.95). In this series of ruminative lectures on Aristotle, Plato, Thucydides, and the disorders of Athenian democracy, Strauss exhibits his prodigious learning, minute familiarity with the material, and awesome subtlety in revolving his subject like a beryl to catch ineffable glints of meaning.

As ever, the object of the Straussian teaching is to discern a law of right or justice that can be set against the normless rule of force. The classical undertaking that most closely parallels this endeavor is Plato's *Republic*, and Strauss accordingly subjects the famous dialogue to a searching (and ultimately unfavorable) critique. The notion of "justice" entailing a rigid compartmentalization of functions, with its stress on primitive communism, absolute equality of the sexes, and abolition of private property, Strauss finds to be untenable, as he does the whole analogy of human soul to city-state on which constructions of this type are based.

In this discussion Strauss echoes certain points advanced by Aristotle, and his handling of the Stagirite is tangibly more sympathetic than his treatment of Plato. Strauss brings out strongly and seems to concur in the Aristotelian notion that the purpose of political life is to train the citizen in virtue and excellence, and that the principles of right can be deduced through the systematic action of human reason upon the materials of nature. The discussion of Thucydides is in similar vein, revolving around the quest for a rule or norm above the raw self-interest of the *polis*.

That neither Plato nor Aristotle can provide us with satisfactory answers to such questions is the argument of Rousas J. Rushdoony in *The One and the Many*, which includes an exegesis of the early councils of the Christian Church, the manner in which they departed from the pagan cosmology, and the reversion of modern thought from the Renaissance forward to a form of neo-paganism (Thoburn Press, 11121 Pope's Head Road, Fairfax, Virginia 22030; $5). Rushdoony argues that the pagan mentality, even in its highest form, was radically deficient in understanding the central issues of political right because it did not, and could not, grasp the notion of divine transcendence.

IN THE PAGAN view, the author notes, divine and human substance were considered to be essentially continuous. The pagan state in all its guises partook of the divine afflatus, with king or emperor or *polis* decked out in symbols of divinity, and was thus a political and religious institution rolled into one. Under these circumstances, a rule of justice above the state, or a zone of freedom for the citizen within it, was virtually impossible to come by. The intellection of a Plato or an Aristotle, however brilliant, could not get past the ultimacy of the divine political order.

With the advent of Biblical revelation, however, all this was changed: the radical discontinuity between divine and human was asserted, the idea of transcendence thereby established, and the ambitions of the secular state rebuked. It is this clear distinction which is articulated in the doctrine of the Trinity. By thus defining the bounds of politics, and reconciling within itself the claims of multiplicity and order, Rushdoony concludes, the Trinitarian doctrine of the early Church established the basis of Western freedom.

—M. STANTON EVANS

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(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

[Gilbert K.] CHESTERTON:

[*The*] *Man Who Was Thursday*

Thieves respect property. They merely wish the property to become their property that they may more perfectly respect it. But philosophers dislike property as property; they wish to destroy the very idea of personal possession.

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Novel by Pearl S. Buck (fol. The) — 33 225 177 71 180 138 154 15 142

B. Part of Greece — 82 210 110 175 221 123

C. A large lake in Florida — 95 223 195 70 186 207 228 30 216 127

D. A form of solitaire played with two packs — 103 60 205 201 119 140 143 106 153 197

E. A city in Washington State — 117 132 194 87 155 45 99 83

F. Helvetian activity — 130 199 34 122 176 181 212 163 50 84 / 97 189 206

G. A certain nobleman "____ said . . . , ____ till I come." —Luke 19:13 — 150 222 226 166 76 16

H. A college in Kentucky in city of same name — 167 124 134 48 77 88 72 152

I. One of the workers at the polls on election days — 44 90 4 81 12 18 26

J. Unscramble DIET, TIDE, and TIED — 173 67 121 51

K. The atmosphere in *Northern Ireland* — 227 65 2 79 98 112 43 29 53 62 / 7 120 128 149

L. The feast of the Annunciation — 6 174 102 17 213 185 75

M. Sharp — 25 168 92 156

N. Unscramble A RHODES BLUFF — 68 38 58 161 178 89 118 148 158 188 / 169 179

O. _____ surely was designed / To poison, and destroy mankind. —Freneau — 11 31 63 5 86 109 9

P. Pollinosis — 73 19 172 47 93 159 170 54

Q. An occasion for littering by some environmentalists — 116 193 56 217 41 171 208 187

R. Unscramble PLAY AT LINEN — 141 107 129 191 196 23 35 94 96 164 / 40

S. Curtail an author and get a spring-flowering spiny shrub — 145 42 131 209 218 66 101 125

T. Presented formally — 162 91 202 59 224 198 22 229 135 147

U. What many automobiles have been — 184 192 220 146 137 157 61 203

V. What running Edward Kennedy for president would be — 190 1 10 133 144 204 211 3 21 115 / 27 32 85 126 230

W. A bad place for a political machine to drive — 57 13 104 24 64 74 78 8 114 28 / 39 46 55 100 113

X. An actor who played butlers (1894-1975) — 105 136 151 165 214 14 37 49 52 111 / 183 200 219 20

Y. THE ROYAL _____, performed in Arkansas (according to Huckleberry Finn) — 108 182 139 160 36 80 215 69

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 315 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

			1 V	2 K		3 V	4 I	5 O	6 L	7 K		8 W	9 O	10 V		11 O	12 I	13 W	14 X
15 A	16 G		17 L	18 I	19 P	20 X	21 V		22 T	23 R	24 W	25 M	26 I		27 V	28 W	29 K		30 C
31 O	32 V	33 A	34 F	35 R	36 Y		37 X	38 N	39 W	40 R		41 Q	42 S	43 K		44 I	45 E	46 W	47 P
48 H	49 X	50 F		51 J	52 X	53 K	54 P	55 W	56 Q		57 W	58 N	59 T	60 D	61 U	62 K		63 O	64 W
65 K	66 S	67 J	68 N	69 Y	70 C	71 A		72 H	73 P	74 W	75 L		76 G	77 H	78 W	79 K	80 Y	81 I	82 B
83 E		84 F	85 V	86 O	87 E	88 H	89 N	90 I	91 T	92 M	93 P	94 R	95 C		96 R	97 F	98 K	99 E	100W
101S	102L	103D		104W	105X		106D	107R	108Y	109 O	110B		111X	112K	113W		114W	115V	116Q
	117E	118N	119D	120K	121J	122F	123B	124H	125S	126V	127C		128K	129R		130F	131S	132E	133V
134H	135T	136X	137U	138A	139Y	140D		141R	142A	143D	144V		145S	146U	147T		148N	149K	150G
151X	152H	153D	154A	155E	156M		157U	158N	159P	160Y		161N	162T	163F	164R		165X	166G	167H
168M	169N	170P	171Q		172P	173J	174L	175B	176F		177A	178N		179N	180A	181F	182Y	183X	184U
185L	186C	187Q		188N	189F	190V		191R	192U	193Q	194E	195C		196R	197D	198T		199F	200X
201D	202T		203U	204V	205D		206F	207C	208Q	209S		210B	211V	212F	213L	214X	215Y	216C	
217Q	218S	219X		220U	221B	222G	223C	224T	225A		226G	227K	228C	229T	230V				

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must not be presented as ushering in a new period of peace. In addition, the academic myth that arms races start wars finds very little support in history. I can think of one war that was started by a mobilization schedule, but I can think of no war that was started by an arms race.

Surely most wars in history are started by the absence of political restraint or, to put it another way, by some country attempting to push the quest for unilateral advantage beyond tolerable limits.

Now as for linkage, in 1972 when we signed the SALT I agreement we also agreed to a set of political principles with the Soviet Union. They were not generally taken seriously enough because the Soviet Union has signed many principles with many countries. In our thinking, however, we always considered those principles essential. If one country constantly presses against every equilibrium and attempts to overthrow the overall balance of power by an accumulation of marginal advantages, sooner or later either the balance of power is indeed overturned or the victim resists and therefore a war would be probable regardless of SALT. I'm not saying we should link SALT to every Soviet action that we do not approve of. But we must insist that it be accompanied by general restraint.

Look at what has happened since 1975, in the space of just four years we have had Cuban troops in Angola, Cuban troops in Ethiopia, two invasions of Zaire, a Communist coup in Afghanistan, a Communist coup in South Yemen, and the occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam, all achieved by Soviet arms, with Soviet encouragement, and in several cases protected by the Soviet veto in the United Nations. In addition, Soviet advanced aircraft piloted by Soviet personnel are protecting Cuba—presumably against us—so that Cuban pilots and aircraft can operate all round Africa—also presumably against us. That cannot go on and have SALT survive. It is doing no favor to Soviet-American relations to pretend that these areas are unrelated. Sooner or later it will lead to a confrontation.

But should they be related in the mind of a senator voting on the SALT treaty?

I think a senator will have to ask himself the question—and the Administration will have to answer—whether the 1980s are going to be a period of increasing political turmoil or whether there is some prospect of the de-escalation of the political conflict, and in this light what is the role of SALT.

Say that a senator decides in his own mind that the Soviets are not going to show restraint in the 1980s, which are going to continue, as you said before, to be a very complex time: what does he achieve by voting against ratification?

I think at a minimum the ratification process should be used to put the Soviets on notice that the Congress of the United States cannot accept the constant challenges to the international order. How that might be achieved I want to reserve for the ratification debate. The Administration has an obligation not to sell SALT with the argument that by itself it will usher in an era of peace. If my analysis of the 1980s is even approximately correct we are entering an era of grave danger. Our leaders must make this clear. I will be open-minded to the argument that we can meet these dangers even with SALT, provided the Administration demonstrates that it understands the dangers, that it has a strategy for meeting them, and, even more pertinent, that SALT will help in meeting them. I cannot accept the proposition that SALT removes our most probable dangers.

That is going to be easier to achieve during the ratification process than afterward, is it not? Once ratification happens—let's say for the sake of argument the Senate votes for ratification—the constraint on the Russians that might exist during the ratification period is removed.

But the Administration has an obligation to show that it can meet the threats to our security, even with SALT, and that it, in fact, intends to meet those dangers. And therefore the Administration must make it clear that the SALT process cannot survive, and that it will not let it survive, if these challenges continue. □

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Three Triumphs

On The Right

New York, Feb. 9—The three central figures of the past fortnight were two men who believe in transcendence, and one materialist. Teng Hsiao-ping occupied great attention wherever he toured. The creators of the greatest material successes in the extra-hallucinatory world took the wizened old Marxist around and about and showed him factories, hotels, hospitals, college campuses, and merchandise marts that, Teng knew, were several generations away from the reach of the Chinese people: and available to them only if Teng agreed to put Marxist theology in the deep-freeze; or, perhaps, to leave it around as a kind of terminological adornment to which the new reality would adjust. Russians have taught us here and there how to emulate capitalist forms while superimposing socialist vocabulary. Teng, if he succeeds, will do it better in China. He was, meanwhile, true to form, observant but not visibly impressed. He is after all an older man than Ronald Reagan would be if he retired after a full term as President of the United States, and can carry his vision for only so long. Teng saw that no one in the United States was capable of turning the tumblers to open up the secrets of what he was thinking. But, as a committed materialist, he must have seen that, in the United States, the nearest thing to the materialization of Marxist dreams has come about—under capitalism.

In Iran, the Ayatollah returned, and everywhere he was hailed as the spiritual liberator. Liberator from what? This is not, really, a question that has been coherently answered by the critics of the Shah. It would be simple if the Shah had set himself up as an idol, requiring that he be worshipped in the manner of the old Oriental emperors who thought themselves divine. But the Shah believes in Islam. He did, to be sure, violate some of the ancient strictures of Moslem life, even as most Jews in Israel turn the pages quickly on the book of Judges. But Islam acknowledges five moments during the day when one's attention goes exclusively to the worship of Allah. The balance of the day is devoted to struggling with the world we live in. The Shah struggled with that world, giving little thought to political liberty. But it can hardly be supposed at this juncture that that in the Shah which offended his people most was that heliocentrism he insisted on. Because the Ayatollah is asking, if one reads him correctly, for no less for himself. Political liberty is not the apparent objective of this representative of Islam. But he commands, at the moment, the devotion of the entire population of Iran who understand themselves as forswearing the secularism of the Shah. Teng is in America as a voyeur of the material benefits of the acknowledgment of secularist appetites. The Ayatollah is in Iran to preach the transcendence of God: but to insist that Islam—the subjection to Allah—be done through the instrument of the State. He is the world's leading theocrat.

And the third figure was Pope John Paul II in Mexico. How the old secularists must have despaired. Fifty, count them, f-i-f-t-y years of suppression of Christianity by forms that vary from outright ritual executions (Father Pro, in 1927) to clerical harassment and social ostracism (a president of Mexico would not attend a church wedding even of his own child)—and suddenly the Pope arrives, and the multitudes treat him with a kind of chiliastic joy. The president, sizing up the political question, consents to go to the airport to meet him, but is hardly noticed: all the attention is on the Pope.

And then he goes to the great convention of the Bishops and tells them in a sort of running allocution one very simple thing: that liberation theology is correct only to the extent that it asserts there are theological reasons for proclaiming the rights of man. But liberation theology secularized to the point of sanctioning non-Christian approaches to reform—the use of terror, for instance—is a profanation. The Bishops were listening to someone than who no one has a greater right to speak on the subject. The life of the Christian in Mexico, after all, has been an anemic copy of the life of the Christian behind the Iron Curtain. And yet the allure of Christianity is undiminished. And the allure of an extraterrestrial divinity overwhelms, however incoherently, Iran; and in China, the only God recognized is Mao Tse-tung, and his emissary comes to the New World on the tacit understanding that he has quickly to re-dedicate his nation to systematic profanation of the Great Helmsman's thoughts, which have led only to misery and want and torture.

One sometimes flirts with so intoxicating a thought. Is it—possible . . . thinkable . . . that one day Christianity might—with the militance of Zionism, the strength of will of Islam—liberate all those peoples west and south of the Urals who are held in thrall by the tyrants, Stalin, Mao, Brezhnev, who have apparently dominated the century, but who have never seemed less secure? □

CARTEL BUSTING

New York, Feb. 5—Most people have their King Charles's head, and mine—the stupefying refusal of the United States Government to develop a policy to combat the extortions of the OPEC powers—I am relieved to note is shared by Eric Hoffer, that fountainhead of common sense, who in his new book, *Before the Sabbath*, cries out against the failure of the most important economic power on earth to respond to the economic act of aggression which levies on U.S. citizens alone an annual tribute of approximately $30 billion.

In a splendidly researched and ingenious article in the January *Harper's*, Craig Karpel, executive director of the Council on Energy Policy, a non-profit organization in New York, gives us "Ten Ways to Break OPEC." It transpires that OPEC is much more than merely a means of taking money from the United States and scattering it out among the sheiks. It is also a means of taking money from United States citizens at large and re-routing a great deal of it to a few Americans.

One thinks instantly of the oil companies, but in fact they are, apart from the quick windfall of 1973, the least benefited. Gas that sells for 65 cents a gallon at the pump is giving the average oil importer a profit of approximately one cent. What you have is great sums of money being made by: bankers who take in the dollars paid out to OPEC countries; manufacturers of heavy machinery and transport equipment ($13 billion in exports last year, five times the pre-OPEC figure); con-

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struction companies; weapons manufacturers. Then there are the satellites of the OPEC venture. An employee of the Department of Energy confided to Karpel: "If OPEC were out of the picture, there'd be no need for an Energy Department. We manage to get along without a Steel Department, after all. The existence of DOE means that 17,000 hungry, cunning people in this town depend directly on OPEC for their livelihood."

In other words, there is a huge U.S. lobby that favors OPEC. It is backed by a State Department whose spinelessness in almost any situation has become its international trademark. Its argument is that to attack OPEC would "destabilize" our friends in the Persian Gulf, whose stability under OPEC is currently being celebrated in Iran. One thing that has certainly destabilized, but is of exiguous concern to the State Department, is the U.S. dollar. But OPEC continues to live and to extort—by the threat of an embargo which, Karpel concludes, having spent months of research on the subject, in fact the OPEC countries could not successfully reimpose.

The specific suggestions are of varying merit. They include a "strategy of oil proliferation." Under such a policy, inducements to the discovery and development of oil in other parts of the world would be effected by a variety of policies. These would include revising the cozy arrangement by which the OPEC countries agree to call their levy on oil extracted by the oil companies a "tax" instead of a royalty—permitting a tax deduction dollar for dollar in the United States. If the companies were required to pay the increased tax, they would necessarily search with greater diligence for oil elsewhere. Other possibilities include a more receptive attitude by the World Bank to loans for oil discovery, a condition being non-alliance with the cartel. As things now stand, there is an "overhang" of oil amounting to roughly 20 per cent of world production, which is to say the difference between what is consumed and what can be produced. Increase that figure by one-half, one economist calculates, and the pressure on individual OPEC members to sell their production at reduced prices would become critical.

THE ADELMAN PLAN (after M. A. Adelman, MIT's celebrated petroleum economist) would work this way. Let us say that in six months we forecast the importation of 1.5 billion barrels of oil. We print 1.5 billion "tickets." Any importer must surrender a ticket per barrel that comes into the United States. Tickets will be sold to anybody at sealed-bid prices, accompanied by certified checks. Inevitably, in a world in which production exceeds demand, the tickets will have a disruptive effect on the cartel. Revenue from the tickets could be passed back directly to American consumers.

The point is that there are a number of devices, none of which is being used. And the silence on the subject is spooky. Last year, in an interview with *Business Week*, Arthur Burns was asked, "You would favor an effort to try to break the OPEC price?" "Why, of course I would," he replied. "I was in favor of that in November 1973, and urged that on Mr. Kissinger and later on Mr. Ford. I got a little group started working, but in the end nothing came of the effort, I am sorry to say." The grief of Arthur Burns has cost the U.S. over $100 billion to date. □

NELSON ROCKEFELLER, R I P

New York, Jan. 29 —Some years ago (it was during the period of indecision in 1967-68 over whether to contest Richard Nixon for the Republican nomination for the Presidency) Henry Kissinger called to advise me that Governor Rockefeller would like to meet me. Meeting me is terribly easy to arrange, so not long after, HK and I rode up the elevator to the Fifth Avenue apartment, and Happy opened the door. What would I like to eat, drink, smoke, etc., and in a few minutes—powerful men, it is my experience, generally let a visitor cool for a moment or two to heighten the suspense: but it was easy to pause there, because within eyesight lay several million dollars' worth of nicely distracting art treasures—he strode in. We exchanged pleasantries while I wondered what was the purpose of the meeting. In due course I found myself listening to an hour-long recitation of his early career on the Latin American desk, at the Chapultepec Conference, and at San Francisco, where he had labored continually to counter Soviet machinations. All this was done quietly, in the tones—I gradually perceived—of a postulant. Nelson Rockefeller obviously wished to convince me that he was profoundly anti-Communist.

I always believed this true of him, but notwithstanding his consistency on the question—marred by an ambiguity on Vietnam when, briefly, Advisor Emmet Hughes prevailed over Advisor Henry Kissinger, respectively the dove and the hawk in the inner circle—Nelson Rockefeller permanently alienated the right wing in America. He did this in 1963 when he was induced to denounce in extravagant terms the whole of the conservative movement as if it were a branch of the John Birch Society. His reward was the distasteful episode in San Francisco when delegates who went there grimly determined to nominate Barry Goldwater gave Rockefeller the Bronx cheer—as if to say: "If that is what you think of *us*, this is what we think of *you*."

But Nelson Rockefeller never gave up. And so now, in 1968, he made a gesture to a representative of the right wing. During the convention itself, against the forlorn possibility that he might actually be nominated over Nixon and Reagan, a special representative of Rockefeller kept me regular company, his mission being to guard against the pre-emptive denunciation of Rockefeller from certain quarters, which denunciation would have had on Rockefeller's candidacy the same effect that the virtual denunciation of him by the labor leaders had on George McGovern in 1972.

Then, too, there was the image of Rockefeller the Big Spender. He was unquestionably the central figure in the progressive decline of the economy of New York State and New York City. But he came gradually to recognize that there were limits to all of this. And so he quarreled with John Lindsay, who finally joined the Democratic Party, where he had always belonged. And on one occasion, with several dozen persons present, Nelson Rockefeller rose to toast Governor Ronald Reagan: "I feel the urge to confess," said Governor Rockefeller, "that I tried a different approach to state welfare than Governor Reagan. And his has proved more successful than mine."

IN 1970 we met to discuss the senatorial race in which my brother James competed, and won. The incumbent Senator Goodell, having been appointed by Governor Rockefeller upon the death of Robert Kennedy, had switched radically to the left, proving an embarrassment to Rockefeller. On that occasion he told me he would give only formalistic support to Goodell, to whom as a fellow Republican he was organizationally committed. "I really am a conservative you know." And then, winking, "I've got a lot to conserve."

Classically Nelson Rockefeller is an example of the man who, having nothing left to animate him, dies; like Napoleon at Saint Helena, or Robert Taft after Eisenhower's nomination. He was a very strong man, persuasive in conversation, dogged in his pursuit of his goals, unsentimental, yet generous. Henry Kissinger believes he would have been a great President. I think it altogether possible that this is true. He had the strength of character to profit from his own mistakes. If he had been kinder to Nixon during the years of exile, Nixon might have appointed him to replace Agnew. If that had happened, Rockefeller would almost surely have been President last week—in which event, almost surely, he would still be alive. □

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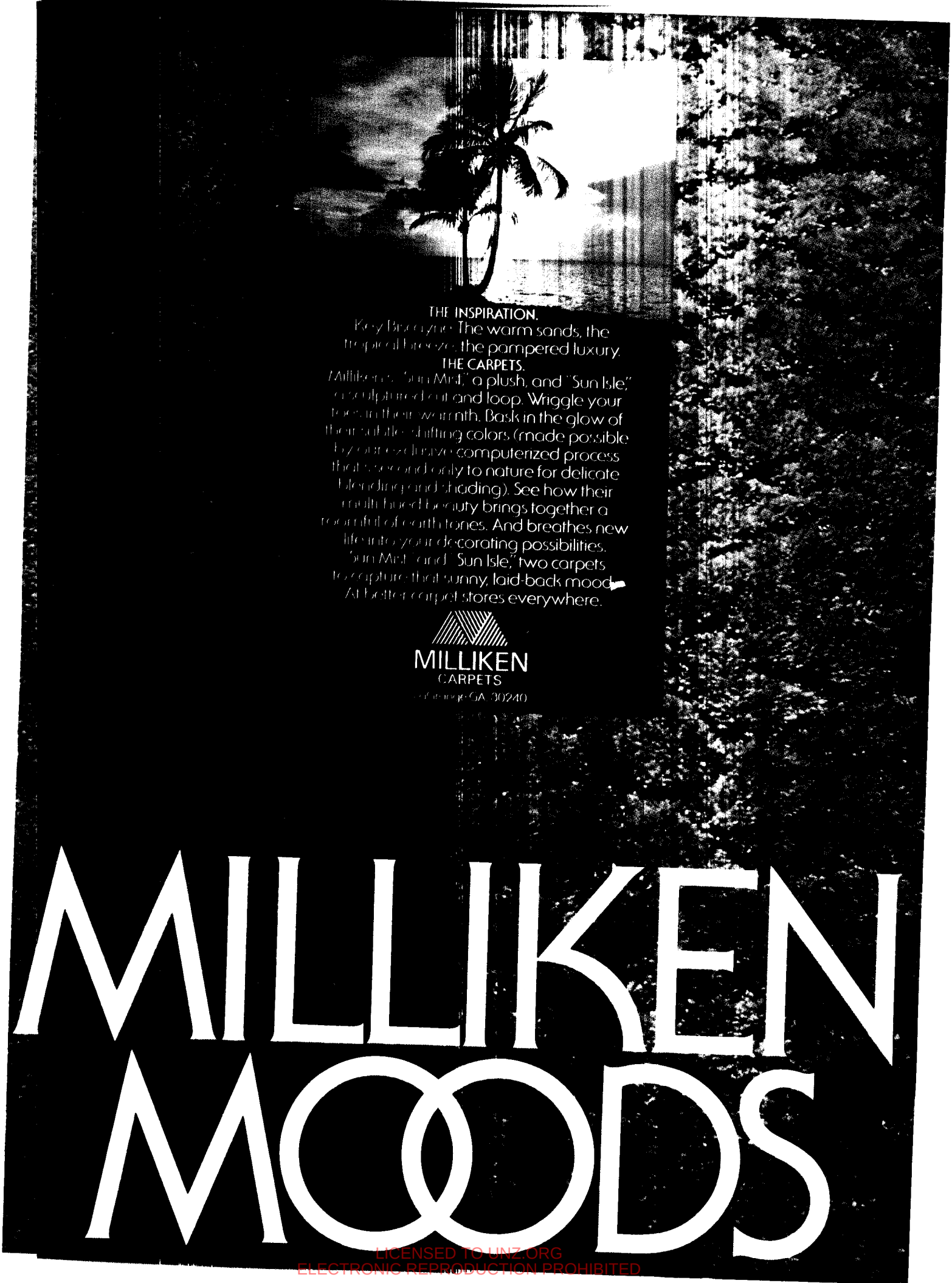
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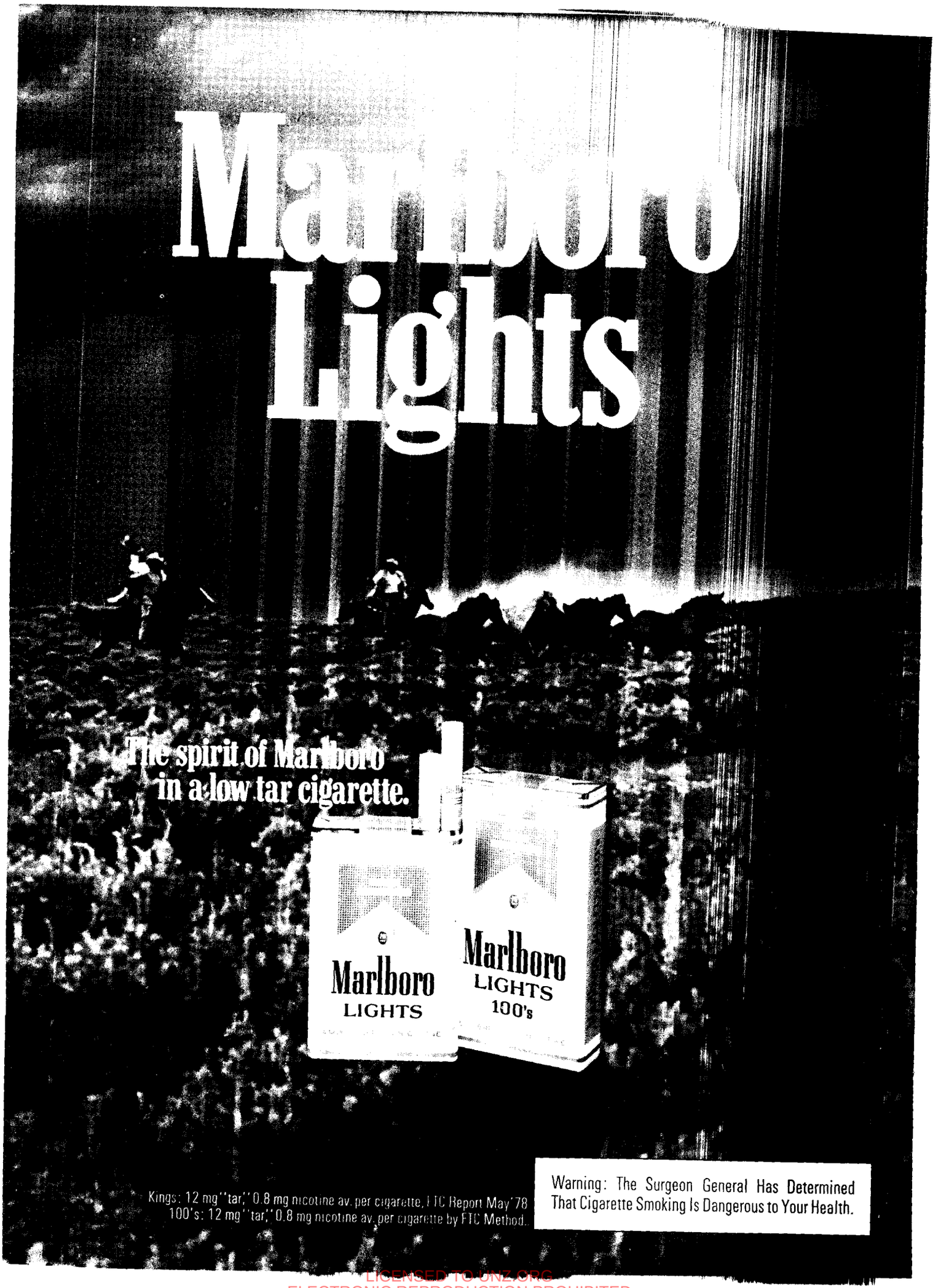
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